

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

8

Proud to fly the  
Lion Rampant

Malcolm – more  
of a monk than  
a monarch

Searching for  
our lost glories

Soaring spires  
that survived  
against all odds

Battle Benny  
couldn't win



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# TIMEBAND Part 8

ATLANTIC  
OCEAN



**1139**

David I turns the tables on the Normans, taking the earldom of Northumberland for Scotland



NORTH  
SEA

**1153**

In defiance of Gaelic custom, Malcolm IV becomes the first child king of Scots.



**1160**

Six earls of Scotland lay siege to Malcolm IV at Perth for compromising Scotland's independence.



**1165**

At the age of 24, Malcolm IV dies at Jedburgh



**1170's**

William the Lion adopts the Lion Rampant as his royal standard.



**1174**

William the Lion is captured by the English king Henry II and imprisoned in Normandy.



**1197**

Bishop Jocelin makes Glasgow cathedral a major pilgrimage site.



**1180's**

Michael Scott, one of Scotland's great Medieval intellectuals is born in the Borders.



**1214**

Death of William the Lion after a reign of 49 years. The second longest in Scottish history. He is buried at Arbroath.

North  
Channel

**In Part 9:  
The rise of the  
clans**

PART OF  
ENGLAND

PART OF  
IRELAND



## CONTENTS

### 4 More of a monk than a monarch

Malcolm IV's short reign showed much promise before illness claimed his life. But was his mother literally the power behind the throne? By Simon Taylor, Anderson Research Fellow in Scottish History at St Andrews University.

### 7 The perils of radical thinking

Philosophers like John Duns Scotus and Michael Scott put Scotland in the first division of radical thinkers. But to many Scott was more of a wizard than a genius. By Alexander Broadie, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, Glasgow University.

### 10 A long life of cautious strife

William the Lion became less war-like towards the end of his 49 year reign...or did he simply choose his enemies more carefully? By Simon Taylor.

### 14 Survival of the finest

Glasgow Cathedral dates back to 1114, and is our finest surviving example of large Medieval church buildings. By Richard Fawcett, Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Historic Scotland.

### 16 Pilgrims map Glasgow's future

Devotion to St Kentigern, and the later development of the Cathedral led to the birth of Glasgow. By Peter Yeoman, Inspector of Ancient Monuments with Historic Scotland.

### 18 Soaring spires

David I inspired the golden age of cathedral building in Scotland, and left the nation a richer place. By Richard Fawcett.

### 20 The lost treasures

Some of Scotland's most precious possessions were looted by Edward I of England. They now seem beyond recovery.

### 24 The quiet conquest

The events of 1066 were traumatic for England. But the Norman conquest of Scotland, such as it was, owed more to stealth. By Davuit Broun, lecturer in Scottish History at University of Glasgow.

## Features

26 THE INVENTORS: James Watt, John Logie Baird, and John Loudon McAdam. 28 SPORTING HEROES: The rise and fall of Benny Lynch, Scotland's first boxing world champion. 30 GOING PLACES: David Ross looks east to admire the great abbeys of William the Lion.

## COMMENT

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

**COVER:**  
William the Lion chose a new insignia for his royal standard and Scots sports fans have been flying it ever since.

## Radical thinking, or pure magic?

Scotland was a powerhouse of radical thinking in the Middle Ages, or the Medieval period as historians would now have it. Philosophers like Michael Scott, John Mair and the most erudite of all, John Duns Scotus, were among the finest minds in Europe.

Duns Scotus' theories on freedom of choice were so original that the school of Scotus grew up round his teachings, and by the 17th century outnumbered all similar schools.

But the philosopher's lot was not an easy one. Michael Scott, for instance, was turned into a demon figure by fellow Borderer, Sir Walter Scott.

Despite the mythology, Scotland can take real pride in the civilising influence of her philosophers.

We all know the fate which befell the Stone of Destiny, hijacked by Edward I in a bid to strip the Scots of one of the symbols of nationhood.

The Stone has returned, but many of Scotland's great treasures have disappeared over the centuries, and are still officially posted missing. Perhaps the most spectacular is the Black Rood, a palm-sized crucifix said to have

been fashioned from part of the True Cross. It was brought to Scotland by St Margaret and later became part of the spoils of war before vanishing in the 16th century.

Other national treasures which have suffered a similar fate include a contemporary account of the deeds of Sir William Wallace, and James III's skull cast.

So if you are cleaning out your loft this weekend...

Brothers Malcolm the Maiden and William the Lion, who ruled Scotland in the latter half of the 12th century, could hardly have been more different.

Malcolm ascended to the throne at the age of 13, and died eight years later, apparently still a virgin, despite his mother's best efforts to tempt him into his kingly obligation to furnish an heir.

William had no such problems. He fathered at least six children before his marriage and was 61 before a legitimate heir arrived.

A war-like character in his youth, William became more of a diplomat towards the end of his reign. But he is best remembered for bequeathing Scotland its royal flag, the Lion Rampant.

# More of a monk than a monarch

Perhaps because of his youth, Malcolm IV was unfulfilled in kingship and fatherhood when he died at 24. But the virgin king, whose mother was his driving force, survived long enough for his promise and potential to be appreciated



As Scotland's first child king, Malcolm IV took the throne at the tender age of 13.

They called him the Maiden King – a touch unfairly perhaps – because he was perceived to be more of a monk than a monarch. He was also Scotland's first child king, taking up the throne at the age of 13 and dying at 24 before he had a chance to prove his manhood.

Nevertheless, the reign of Malcolm IV, from 1153 to 1165, earned good contemporary reviews after its relatively seamless continuation of the policies and outlook of his grandfather and predecessor David I.

Malcolm's father, David I's son Earl Henry, had died tragically and suddenly in his thirties in 1152 – while he had been proving himself an equally able successor to his father.

In 1139 Henry had married Ada de Warenne, the daughter of the Earl of Surrey, a leading Anglo-Norman baron. As soon as Earl Henry was dead, David saw to it that Henry's oldest son, Malcolm, then aged 12, was the new king-designate. He handed the boy over to Earl Duncan MacDuff of Fife, the foremost Scottish earl, who, at the head of a large army, took the boy around Scotland north of the Forth and proclaimed him heir to the kingdom.

In the following year, 1153, David I died, at Carlisle (then within his kingdom) and was buried in the new royal mausoleum in Dunfermline. A few days later, Malcolm was crowned at Scone, the ancient place of coronation.

The fact that a 13-year-old boy could become king is a sign of just how much Scotland had changed in the previous 50 years – never before had the nation had an under-age king. It says much for the prestige of David I, and the stable government which he had introduced. Without them Malcolm would not have survived. However, he did not have an easy time of it. The

November of the year of his accession saw the first rebellion and challenge to his authority, when the powerful King of the Western Isles, Somerled, joined forces with the sons of Malcolm son of Heth.

Malcolm son of Heth was himself a prisoner in Roxburgh, with a strong claim on the Scottish throne. Under the motto of divide and rule, three years later (in 1157) Malcolm IV reconciled himself with Malcolm son of Heth, releasing him from prison after 23 years, and making him Earl of Ross.

The same diplomacy is seen in his dealings with his powerful neighbour to the south, Henry II of England. The bitter civil wars in England which had raged for most of King Stephen's reign (1135-54) were finally settled by the accession of the young and very able Henry II in December, 1154.

In 1157 Henry demanded back Northumberland and Cumbria, both of which had been acquired by David I. Malcolm IV granted his request. This was expedient, given the far greater power of Henry, who controlled not only England, but much of modern France – though it must have galled many of the Scottish nobility.

When Malcolm went off to southern France in 1159 to support Henry in a local dispute there, was knighted by Henry, and did not return until 1160, discontent in Scotland reached such a pitch that six earls – led by Earl Ferteth (Feardach) of Strathearn – besieged the king at Perth shortly after his return. They had no doubt seen Malcolm's dancing attendance on Henry as threatening Scotland's independence as a kingdom, and distracting the young king from his duties at home.

This seems to have been the start of a mini civil war, which ended with the king's victory over his enemies in Galloway later in that same year. The investment both he and his grandfather had made in building up an effective fighting force, using the latest in European military technology, had paid off. It consisted chiefly of introducing into Scotland aristocratic settlers



■ Before the young king died at Jedburgh Abbey (right), he could regard as one of his few real achievements the establishment of a monastery at Coupar Angus (above).

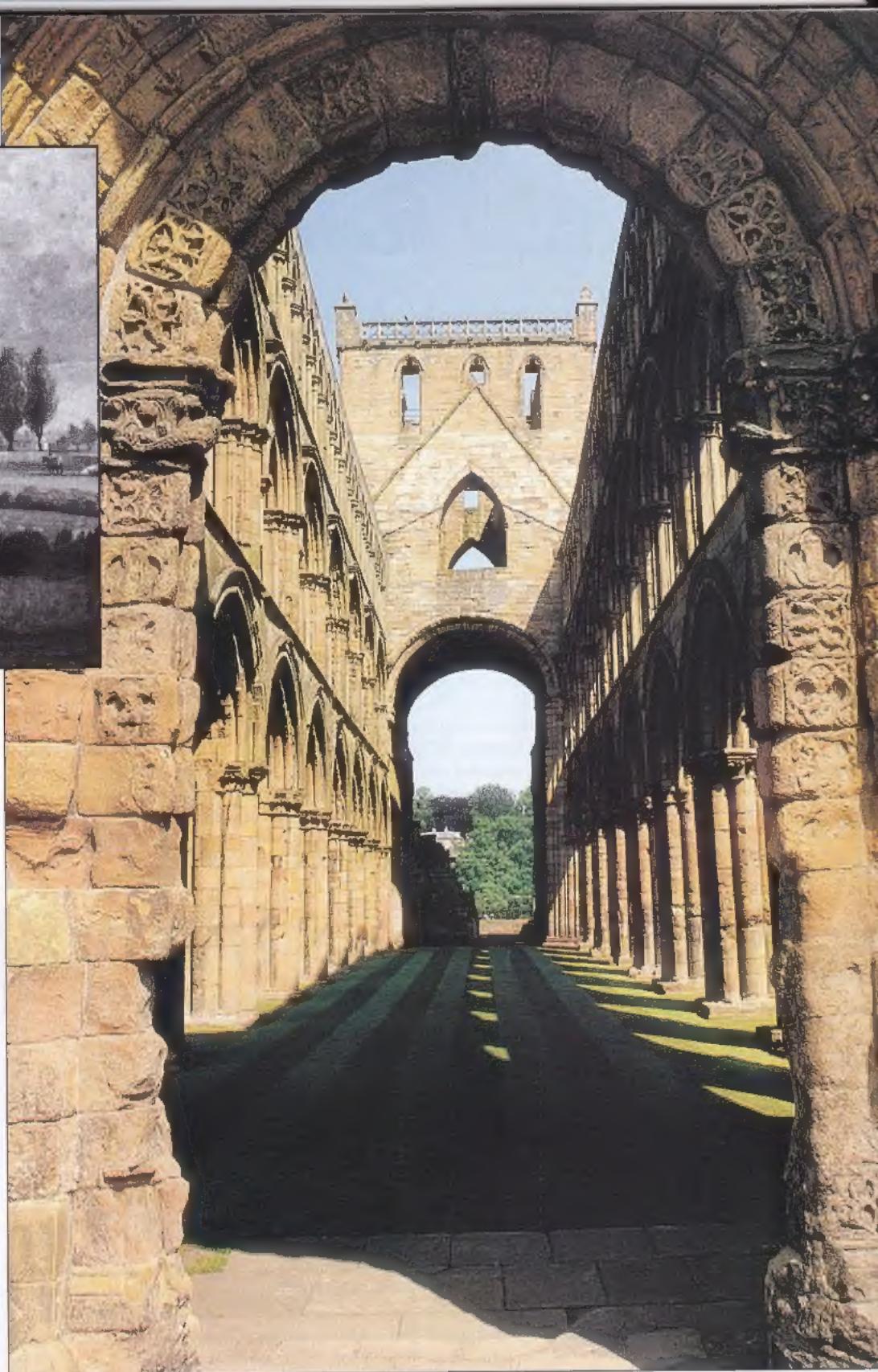
from Anglo-Norman England, as well as from Normandy, Brittany and Flanders. These in turn brought with them modern techniques of armour, cavalry and castle-building – the cutting edge of military know-how, both literally and figuratively.

At the same time they owed allegiance directly to the king, and could therefore be relied on more than many of the native aristocracy, who often had other loyalties and agendas. It was one of the great political successes of these 12th century kings of Scots that they were able to do this without causing civil war in their heartland of southern and east-central Scotland.

The presence of these incomers also had a profound effect on the way the king governed his realm. The whole process is generally known as 'feudalisation' – and although many historians now avoid this term, the idea of land and income in return for military service to the king was not new. What was new was the quality of this service, and the fact that it was being more exactly defined.

One of the results of this was to introduce yet another linguistic, ethnic and cultural element into a country which was already polyglot, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. This is most vividly brought out in the way in which King Malcolm addresses his subjects in several of his charters with such phrases as 'French, English, Scots and Cumbrians (Welsh)', sometimes even adding 'Galwegians'.

The Scots are the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of Scotland north of the Forth; the English are chiefly the English-speakers of south-east Scotland, the descendants of the Northumbrians who had settled there 500 years before; while the Cumbrians are the Welsh-speakers of Strathclyde. The French, on the other hand, are those new settlers, whose chief language would have been



French, whether they came from England or north-west France and the Low Countries.

Alluding to both Malcolm IV and his brother and successor William I, an English chronicler in the early 13th century famously remarked that "the modern kings of Scotland count themselves as Frenchmen in race, manners, language and culture; they keep only Frenchmen in their household and following, and have reduced the Scots to utter servitude".

Although a gross oversimplification and exaggeration, it no doubt reflected something of the reality, and goes some way towards explaining the rebellions which both Malcolm IV and William

had to face. It was some of these 'French' – more particularly Flemings from Flanders – whom Malcolm settled in Clydesdale, forming a buffer-zone of loyal and well-equipped fighting men between the heart of his kingdom and Galloway, source of so much trouble for the Scottish throne.

Who was actually governing Scotland during the minority of Malcolm IV? His mother, Ada, no doubt took a leading part in this. As we have seen, there was certainly a maturity and diplomacy shown in the early years of Malcolm's reign which went far beyond those of a teenager.

Malcolm is often portrayed as being saintly and unworldly, but we know he was also a soldier, ►

# When his mother introduced a young woman to his bed, he decided to sleep on the floor

► eager to be knighted, who led his armies in several campaigns.

He was nicknamed 'the Maiden' because he is said to have died a virgin. He thus failed in one of the important duties of Medieval kingship – the production of an heir – despite the best efforts of his mother, who, trying to make him 'a king, not a monk', as one chronicler put it, introduced a young woman to his bed. He did not object, but as soon as his mother had left the room, he slept on the floor, and we are assured that his virginity survived the night.

The chronicler, himself a monk, would have us believe this was because of Malcolm's high-minded virtue, but it may well be that Malcolm was simply not attracted to women, and thus made a virtue out of a necessity.

The 12th century in Scotland was when most of the important Medieval monasteries were founded, yet for all his pious reputation, Malcolm IV is associated with the foundation of only one – that of Coupar Angus, a daughter house of the great Cistercian abbey of Melrose.

It might be said, however, that his grandfather, David I, had already saturated the market in this regard, as he

was directly responsible for founding no fewer than 13 monasteries and nunneries in his kingdom.

Malcolm died young, and so was fairly unproven as a ruler. But had he lived, he would probably have been an effective and respected king. We see him showing an increasingly firm hand in the governance of his kingdom, tempered by careful diplomacy and a genuine interest in the affairs of the Church, concerned for its independence from the archbishopric of York, which was making strong claims on it.

He suffered from severe ill health towards the end of his short life, and this may have prompted him to plan a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella in Spain, a plan he was unable to carry out. He died in December, 1165, aged 24, at Jedburgh, and was buried beside his grandfather David I at Dunfermline.

A contemporary Irish annalist, whom we can assume was less partisan than those writing within Scotland or northern England, sums up his character this way: "With regard to charity and hospitality and piety, he was the best Christian of the Gaels to the east of the sea".

There have been many worse epitaphs of kings than this. ■

# A touch too friendly

Malcolm agreed to be knighted by the English king, but it was too much for many to bear

King Malcolm IV had a close relationship – too close, some thought – with the English king, Henry II.

In 1159, Henry fought a major campaign against King Louis of France at Toulouse. It seems Malcolm took part in this against the wishes of most of his chief men.

Relations between Malcolm and his native nobles reached crisis point when news arrived in Scotland that, while returning from Toulouse, Malcolm was knighted by Henry.

In allowing this, Malcolm was acknowledging English



Perth, where Malcolm was besieged by earls.

superiority over Scotland.

In response to Scottish anger, Malcolm ordered the magnates and prelates of the church to meet him at Perth.

Walter Bower, writing in his Scotichronicon 300 years later, gives an account of the circumstances around the siege of Perth:

*The chief men of the realm being stirred to anger, six earls, Ferteth earl of Strathearn and five others, acting against the king not from motives of personal gain or treacherous conspiracy, but rather out of a desire to protect the common weal, tried to seize his person. They besieged him in a tower*

*of that same city. But by the divine judgment their attempt was foiled for the moment, and after a few days the king was reconciled to his nobles through the mediation of the clergy.*

Malcolm may have acted naively in his relationship with Henry.

What is clear is that his anglicisation infuriated many among Scotland's native nobility.

While Malcolm's feudal accession had already broken ancient Gaelic rules of kingship, his knighting by Henry II was clearly too much for many of his subjects to bear.

## TIMELINE

1140

Malcolm is born, son of Earl Henry of Northumbria and Ada de Warenne, daughter of the Earl of Surrey.

1152

Malcolm's father, Earl Henry of Northumberland, dies. Malcolm is taken on a tour of Scotland to be recognised as the heir by his grandfather David I.

1153

Malcolm IV becomes the first child king of Scots. Somerled and the sons of Malcolm, son of Heth, rebel against his rule.

1157

Malcolm IV is reconciled with Malcolm, son of Heth. He is released after 23 years in captivity. Malcolm IV hands the earldom of Northumberland back to England.

1159

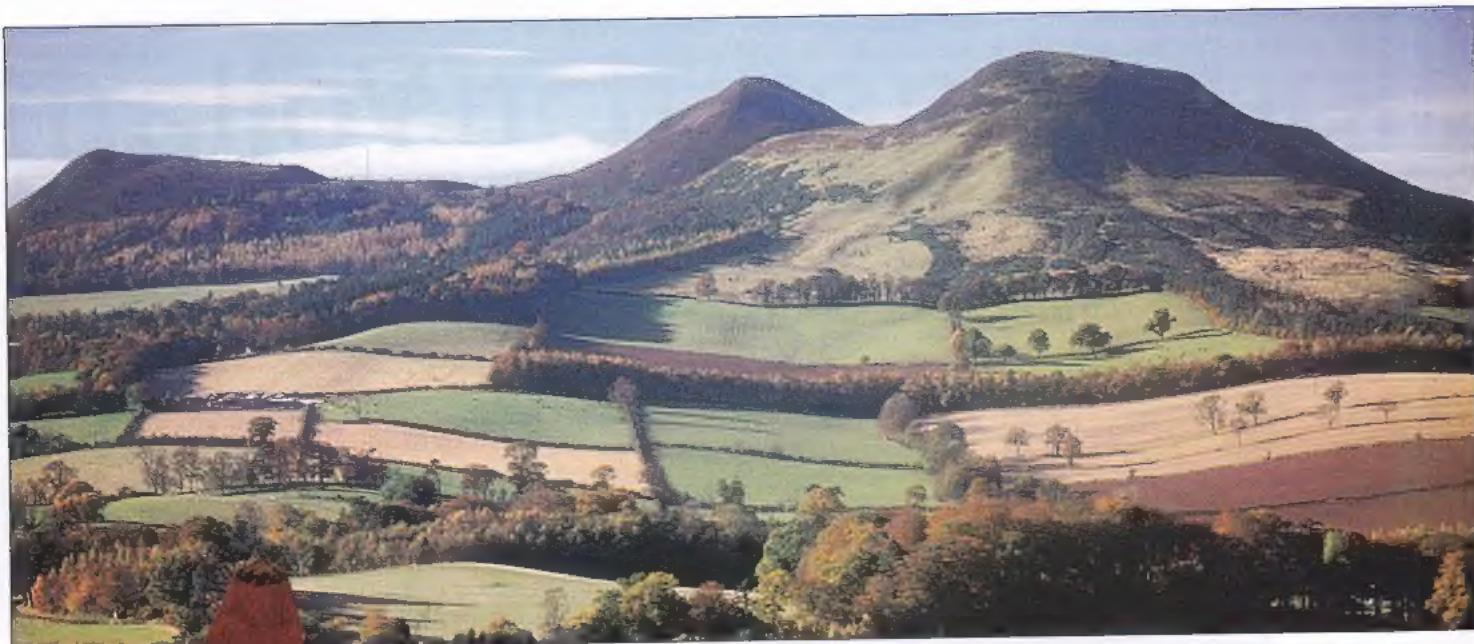
Malcolm goes to France to fight for Henry II. There he is knighted by Henry, a gesture that makes Henry appear superior to the King of Scots.

1160

Six earls discontented with Malcolm's absence and fearful over the loss of Scots independence, besiege the King at Perth. Clergy promote reconciliation.

1165

Malcolm IV dies aged 24 after a long illness at Jedburgh in the borders.



# Over the hills and far away

If you ever wondered how that distinctive Border landmark of the Eildon Hills came to be cleft in three, as if some monster had snapped at them in the passing, the answer is simple – the wizard Michael Scott was to blame.

The wondrous Michael Scott was a 13th-century Scottish philosopher who found fame among the great minds of Europe for his learning. But, because he studied alchemy, astrology and chiromancy, he was also perceived as having the gift of magical powers.

The legend of the Eildons tells how Scott was embarrassed by a demon for whom he had to find constant work. He set it to build a cauld, or dam, to bridle the River Tweed, thinking the challenge would keep it busy for years. The industrious spirit finished the job in a night. Then it was instructed to divide the beautiful, single conical peak of Eildon Hill in three, but this work also was done overnight. Scott could get rid of the demon only by setting it the impossible challenge of weaving ropes from sea-sand.

And the evil spirit is hard at work to this day!

Europe in the 13th century was a fearful theatre of wizards, magicians, alchemists – and philosophers. Great men of wisdom were emerging to examine their world afresh and challenge existing thought. But sometimes, as in Scott's case, it wasn't easy to know philosopher from wizard.

Some of these thinkers left Scotland's great abbeys to take their learning to the continent, and also to expand their own knowledge. They were regarded as intellectual equals by European counterparts, and since the quest for

In Europe, they ranked among the greatest thinkers, but in their homeland Michael Scott and others were belittled and demonised. Perhaps it's time to think again

fuller understanding was a two-way process, it is proper to assume that Scotland, in turn, was visited by European philosophers.

Michael Scott is a good example of a Scottish thinker who travelled well, and perhaps his tragedy is that he remains so little-known today outside the Scottish Borders. Even that great weaver of yarns, Sir Walter Scott, in his Lay of the Last Minstrel, ignored Michael's erudition and his achievements in Europe, and turned him into:

*A wizard, of such dreaded fame  
That when, in Salamanca's cave  
Him lifted his magic wand to wave,  
The bells would ring in Notre Dame!*

Michael Scott's reputation as a magician probably grew from his claim that he could turn lead into gold. This was the ultimate alchemy at a time when people believed the earth acted as a womb, and developed metals within it, changing lead to iron, then copper, silver and eventually into gold under the influence of heavenly bodies. Any human who could accomplish such a magical feat had to be close to God.

The extraordinary Michael Scott was probably

■ Michael Scott was a man who left a mark on history, not just on the Eildon Hills.

► born in the Borders in the early 1180s. The grammar school at Roxburgh and the cathedral school at Durham were the starting points of his education, and he went on to study at Oxford and in Paris – at that time the leading seat of learning in Europe.

Mathematics, astronomy, logic and grammar would be among his subjects, and he probably studied law at Bologna before being appointed astrologer and tutor at the early age of 20 to the young Frederick II, then king of Sicily and later emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

During Scott's academic career he made many translations into Latin from Arabic scripts of Aristotle's writings on the natural sciences, which had been made

available to the great library at Toledo in Spain. Before he could make these translations, Scott had to master both Hebrew and Arabic, and his work was acknowledged as of the highest calibre.

The great Michael seems to have been rather addicted to natural philosophy, and wrote several treatises on the subject.

It was during that same period that Scott produced a learned medical thesis based on an Arabic book entitled *Sirr-el-asrar* – the secret of secrets. It was this book that later reinforced his association with magic and supernatural deeds.

He was celebrated as a physician for a time, but his career took various turns. Even the Pope at one point intervened to find Scotland's wandering philosopher a suitable position, and he was offered the post of bishop of Cashel in Ireland. It was not for Michael Scott, however. He turned it

down because, he said, he did not understand the Irish language. A new pope made a further bid on his behalf, praising him as a distinguished scholar, but no post came his way.

Perhaps embittered, Michael turned to writing prophetic verses instead, which only added to his aura of mysticism.

Melrose Abbey is said to be the Border wizard's last resting-place. Or is it? Even here there is mystery, because a 17th-century writer claims to have visited Michael Scott's tomb in the churchyard at Burgh-under-Bowness, near Carlisle. The Melrose site, however, seems to confirm the belief that Scott returned home to die. It is ironic that his namesake, Border minstrel Sir Walter Scott, one of Scotland's greatest writers, should have so destroyed

Michael's reputation, and presented a totally erroneous picture of one of Scotland's great early philosophers.

Ironic, too, that because of his own magical pen, Walter

Scott came to be known as the Wizard of the North.

The celebrated author had the last word about his distant cousin and about the Melrose tomb, where it is said that Michael Scott's books of magic are buried with him, no one daring to open their covers.

*I buried him on St Michael's night,  
When the bell toll'd one, and the moon was bright,  
And I dug his chamber among the dead,  
When the floor of the chancel was stained red,  
That his patron's cross may over him wave,  
And scare the fiends from the Wizard's grave.*

**It is said that Michael Scott predicted his own death. He envisaged a small stone of a certain weight striking his head and ending his life. So Michael devised a protective head-covering to prevent disaster. However, during a special Mass he removed this shield and a small stone suddenly detached itself from the vault of the church and struck him on the head. On weighing the stone, he found it to be the exact weight he had predicted. He immediately settled his affairs and prepared himself for death.**

# Voila...

Scotland's relations with Europe were transformed in the 15th century when three universities were founded here. St Andrews had the earliest, around 1411, followed by Glasgow 40 years later, and then by one in Aberdeen in 1495. This last one was set up after a plea to Pope Alexander, a member of the notorious Borgia family, but that is another story!

The new seat of learning in Aberdeen was called St Mary's first of all, and later named King's College, in honour of James IV.

Such matters apart, the important thing is that, within a very short period, Scots were teaching Scots in Scotland at the highest level available anywhere. And even before those universities, there were the great abbeys, where men of high intellectual calibre were to be found.

For example, Adam Scot, abbot of Dryburgh in the 12th century, wrote extensively about the nature of God, the interpretation of the Bible, and the religious life. Many of his writings survive but are sadly neglected.

At about the same time, Richard Scot was abbot of the great abbey of St Victor in Paris. And his writings, particularly on the Trinity, had a profound influence on how the Medieval church developed. Richard of St Victor focused on the centrality of love, on God's love for man, and on the commandments that we should love God and our neighbour.

Some decades later, the Order of Friars Minor, the Franciscan Order, was founded. And almost from the start it adopted the stance of Richard Scot. This closely fitted the image of St Francis himself, the man who preached to the birds and animals of the woods and who was seen as in a bond of love with the natural world.

Ever since then, Franciscan theology has borne the marks of Richard Scot's teachings.

At around the beginning of the 13th century, the intellectual scene in Europe came under the influence of Aristotle, the great man of ancient Greece who, using his reason and not relying at all on divine revelation, constructed a comprehensive system of thought about human beings, the natural world and higher intelligences.

Christianity found itself confronted with this powerfully-argued system, and had to show either that Aristotle was wrong or that Christianity was compatible with his teachings.

Scots were soon at the forefront of efforts to bring Aristotle's writings to the Christian west and also to demonstrate that his thought was indeed compatible with Christianity.

In the same century, in 1266 to be exact, or some 30 years after Michael Scott's death, John Duns Scotus, the greatest philosopher Scotland has ever produced, was born in Duns in the Borders. When still young, but already well grounded in Latin, the language of instruction across Europe, he was taken south by two Franciscan friars.

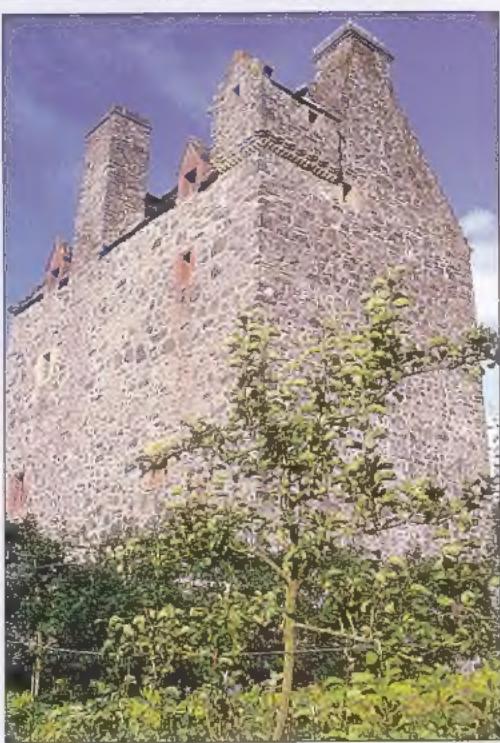
Duns Scotus taught first at Oxford, then in Paris. In 1307 he went to Cologne, but died there

## A sting in the Aikwood tale

When James Hogg wrote *The Three Perils of Man*, and gave philosopher-wizard Michael Scott a Borders home at Aikwood, it had to mean trouble ahead. The novel's Canterbury Tales style travellers certainly got more than they bargained for.

Trapped in Aikwood's tower, they and Scott embark on a night of story-telling – with a decided sting in the tale. Whoever loses the yarn-spinning contest will end up as breakfast for the others!

Aikwood today, on the B7009 near Selkirk, is the home of the first Presiding Officer of the Scots Parliament, Sir David Steel, and his wife Judy, who's an expert on Hogg. From Easter to September, it's open to the public three days a week and there's an Ettrick Shepherd exhibition, Ring 01750 52253 for details. Afternoon visits only – no breakfast is involved!



# the French connection



■ St Andrews had Scotland's earliest university.



■ Glasgow, second bridgeway to the continent.



■ Aberdeen had links with both pope and king.

a year later. He was a Franciscan who in many ways built upon the ideas of Richard Scot of St Victor, particularly about the importance of love in our lives and in the universe.

Indeed, he held that love was a greater thing than knowledge. If we had a choice between loving God without knowing him, and knowing God without loving him, it would be better to love than to know, he said.

Duns Scotus, commonly called the 'subtle doctor', was the great philosopher of freedom in medieval Europe. He taught that our freedom consists in the fact that we are genuinely open to alternative lines of action. Whatever we do, we could in the very same circumstances have done something else instead.

If Scotus is right, then we are more free than we often care to admit, and we have to shoulder responsibility for many acts where we would prefer to excuse ourselves because 'we had no alternative'.

A school of Scotists grew rapidly round the teachings of Duns Scotus, and continued to grow after his death. However, during the Renaissance the Scotists were dubbed Dunes (hence dunce) because of their obstinacy and conservatism.

Nevertheless, professorships of philosophy were established in Duns Scotus's name in many European universities, and in the 17th century the school of Scotus was said to be more numerous than all the other schools put together.

We should remember, too, that Scotus was developing his theories about freedom while the Wars of Independence were being fought in Scotland – a happy example of the unity of theory and practice.

In the 15th century, many Scots studied on the continent, especially at Paris, before taking up teaching posts at the newly-founded universities here. For example, the first rector at St Andrews was Lawrence of Lindores, a Paris-trained philosopher and theologian, whose major extant works, commentaries on Aristotle, are full of interesting material. There is evidence that it was

via the writings of Lawrence that an important theory, the impetus theory about the movement of projectiles, came to the attention of the great astronomer Copernicus in Cracow. The theory is historically important because it foreshadows a crucial concept of modern physics, inertia.

Perhaps the most important Scottish thinker of the 15th century was John Ireland, a student at St Andrews who rose to be rector of the university of Paris before returning to Scotland to become confessor to James III.

In 1490 he completed a book, *The Mirror of Wisdom*, written in Scots, for the king's son James IV (the King's College man) and intended as a piece of advice to him about the duties of kingship.

The advice was placed in a religious context, in that John Ireland presented God's governance of the world as the best possible model for an earthly king. God, he said, advocated a perfect system of laws, is perfectly informed about the obedience or disobedience of his creatures, and recompenses us exactly as justice demands. James IV would be a successful king to the extent that his governance of Scotland corresponded to that model.

The pre-eminent Scottish thinker in the half-century before the Scottish Reformation was John Mair, who was born in Gleghornie near Haddington in 1467. He rose to become professor of philosophy and theology at Paris, before returning to Scotland in 1518 to take up the principalship of Glasgow University. Then for the last 16 years of his life he was provost of St Salvator's College in St Andrews.

In Paris, Ignatius Loyola and John Calvin were among the students attending his lectures, and at St Andrews he taught John Knox, a former pupil of Mair's own boyhood school at Haddington.

Some 40 books by Mair are still extant – possibly all he ever penned. He wrote extensively on logic, theology, moral philosophy, and history. And he had an approach that was all his own. For instance, his *History of Greater Britain*, i.e. Scotland and England, was composed in a

much more analytic and scientific spirit than can be found in any other Scottish historical work till long after Mair's death.

What comes through clearly is that the book was written by a high-powered logician, who never makes a claim without offering evidence, and who is always sensitive as to just how strong, or otherwise, that particular evidence might be. The History also profited from Mair's study of ethics, for he comments not only on what people did but also on what they ought to have done!

Mair gathered round him a formidable circle of Scottish scholars, such as George Lokert of Ayr, who became prior of the Sorbonne and then dean of Glasgow Cathedral; Robert Galbraith, professor of Roman law at Paris and then senator of the College of Justice in Edinburgh; and William Manderston, successively rector of the universities of Paris and St Andrews.

There were many others. What's notable is how many of the Scots scholars at the university of Paris – at the top of their profession – returned to Scotland to enrich the Scottish scene in academe, the church or the law.

They all worked within the broad framework provided by Aristotle, but with other influences too, not least that of Duns Scotus, whom Mair refers to frequently not by name but simply as 'my compatriot' or 'my fellow countryman'.

In his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, John Knox says that the word of John Mair was then held as an oracle on matters of religion. All the same, from Knox's perspective, Mair and his galaxy of thinkers belonged to the Old Order.

With the arrival of the Reformation in 1560 the works of these men, with the exception of Mair's History, gradually sank into oblivion. Only very recently have scholars started to examine their books again – finding them full of interesting ideas about logic, religion, and morality, ideas that can help to fuel discussions even today.

Although the Reformation brought many gains, there were many things of value that were lost. It has taken Scotland a long time to recover them. ■

# A long life

When William the Lion first showed a claw and almost had it bitten off by England's King Henry, he decided that discretion was the better part of valour. While not flinching from conflict, he chose enemies carefully

William King of Scots was a remarkable monarch – if only for the fact that he ruled for a very long time. He came to the throne at the age of 22 – on the death of his brother Malcolm IV in 1165 – and died 49 years later in 1214. His long and varied career is reflected in his different epithets. The most famous, 'the Lion', although used of him only after his death, expresses both his courage and warlike prowess, as well as his royal nature, summing up much of what medieval society expected from its kings.

An Irish source refers to him as *garbh* ('rough'), while a contemporary Scottish source written in Latin styles him, more neutrally, as *rufus* ('of ruddy complexion'). Another epithet applied to him was 'the Holy', which sits awkwardly with much of what we know about his life. Yet there is no doubt that towards the end of his reign, he was seen as possessing that other important quality of a Medieval king – sanctity.

It is even reported that he performed a miraculous cure of a young boy at York in 1206, an early example of the notion that the touch of an anointed king had supernatural healing properties. However, sanctity was also part of the 'corporate image' of the Canmore dynasty, to which William was heir. His great-grandmother was the saintly Queen Margaret; his grandfather the pious King David I, while his brother and predecessor Malcolm IV had died with his reputation for celibacy, in those days a byword for sanctity, intact.

In sexual matters William certainly had need of this aura of sanctity borrowed from his dead relatives, as he himself had already fathered at least six children before his marriage in 1186 – when he was 49 – to

■ Rough and ruddy: contemporary descriptions of William are not flattering, but at the end of his record reign, he had proved his abilities as ruler.



# of cautious strife

■ St Thomas à Becket, right – to whom William cleverly dedicated his Arbroath Abbey in 1178. By choosing as his personal saint the man England's Henry had put to death, a significantly defiant Scottish gesture was made.

the French noblewoman Ermengarde de Beaumont. And it was 12 years after that before a legitimate heir was born when he was 61.

A defining moment in William's life was the death of his father Earl Henry, son of David I, when William was nine. David was still king when his only surviving son died in 1152. While the Earl of Fife took William's older brother Malcolm around Scotland north of the Forth, proclaiming him heir to the kingdom, David himself went with William to Newcastle, and made the barons of Northumberland do homage to the boy as their lord. Earl Henry had become Earl of Northumberland in 1139.

This childhood experience made a deep impression on the young William, and goes some way to explaining what became one of the great obsessions of his adult life – getting back the earldom of Northumberland, which his brother Malcolm IV had, under pressure, handed to Henry II of England in 1157.

William failed, and his determination to retrieve it led him to the near disaster of 1174, when he found himself prisoner of King Henry II of England when captured at Alnwick in Northumberland. Symbolically, William was ritually humiliated when he was led with his feet tied below his horse in a procession through Northampton. From there, he was taken to Normandy, then in English hands, and imprisoned in the dungeon of Falaise Castle.

Henry then proceeded to extract feudal homage from William for 'Scotland and all other lands' in the Treaty of Falaise. This led in turn to 15 years of humiliating subjection to the English king which ended only with Henry's death in 1189. At that point Richard the Lionheart, desperate for funds to launch his crusade, issued William with a formal quit claim for his feudal homage for Scotland in return of the comparatively small sum of 10,000 merks.

After 1189 William, again fully in charge of his kingdom, emerged as a more diplomatic and less headstrong ruler. He had learned the hard way that armed aggression against a more powerful neighbour was foolish and dangerous. This did not



mean that he became more peaceable, as his campaigns in both Galloway and Moray clearly show. It simply meant that he chose his enemies more carefully.

One of the chief supporters of William's policies was his younger brother, Earl David of Huntingdon, the most powerful of the Scottish barons who also had huge holdings in the English Midlands. The loyalty of David to his older brother did much to strengthen royal authority in Scotland, and made a major contribution to the success of William's reign. Such loyalty should not be taken for granted. One need only look to the English royal house and the sons of Henry II

in this period to realise that fraternal relationships could be very different. It would be a mistake to see Scotland in the 12th century as a peacefully unified kingdom, in which the sons and great grandsons of Malcolm III and Margaret – 'the Margaretsons' – ruled unchallenged. There were serious challenges to their right to rule, chiefly from the MacWilliams. These were descendants of Malcolm III and his first wife Ingeborg through their son, Duncan II, who had ruled Scotland briefly in 1094. They took their name MacWilliam from Duncan's son William, and claimed (with some justification) that they had more right to rule Scotland than had the ▶

# Scotland's roaring, rampant pride started life as the Lion King's status symbol

**T**he Lion Rampant is one of Scotland's most recognisable symbols. It is the beloved standard of the Scottish football fan, whether on the regular pilgrimages to Hampden Park or sweeping south with the happy Tartan Army.

Over 800 years ago it became the standard of a very different army – Scotland's Medieval host – as the heraldic banner of the kings of Scots.

William I is credited with giving Scotland the Lion Rampant, even though the epithet 'The Lion' seems only to have been attached by later chroniclers.

There is a story that William was gifted two lions by a knight returning from the crusades.

In the 1170s heraldic symbols and beasts became

the new badges of identity for the fashion-conscious kings and noble families of northern Europe. So it is entirely possible that William took up the device as a status symbol.

It also served the practical purpose of differentiating followers on the battlefield, as a standard around which they could protect their lord.

Its first recorded use was by William's son, Alexander II, who used a rampant lion on his Great Seal.

In the reign of Alexander III, the lion developed its familiar surrounding frame known technically as a double tressure flory and counter flory.

Robert the Bruce was handed the royal standard in 1306 and has since been immortalised in Scottish iconography as being

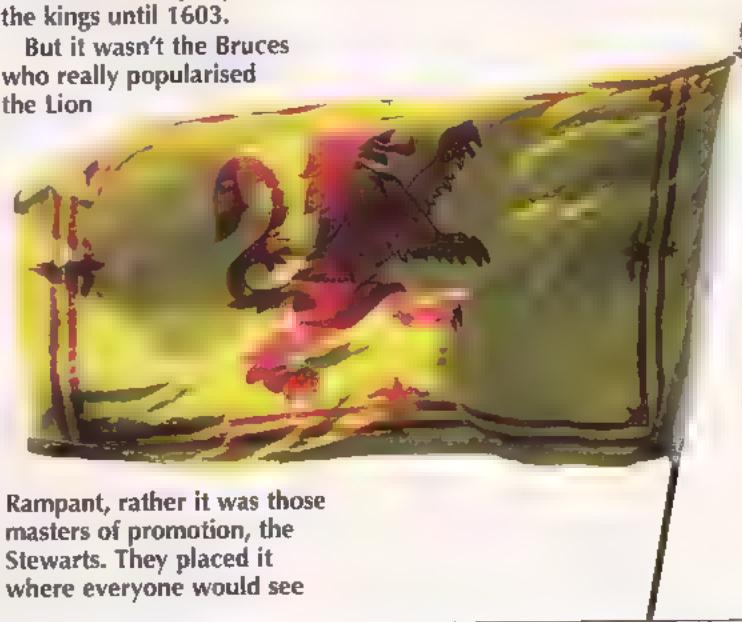
associated with the Lion Rampant.

Bruce's son David added the sword to the royal crest, the sceptre was introduced in 1542, and the standing lion adorned all the privy seals of the kings until 1603.

But it wasn't the Bruces who really popularised the Lion

it – on Scotland's coins.

Gold coins from the reign of Robert III (1390-1406) and James II (1437-60) were known as lions, because they were stamped with a lion on one side.



Rampant, rather it was those masters of promotion, the Stewarts. They placed it where everyone would see

► descendants of Malcolm III's second marriage. Their claim to rule was further strengthened by the fact that William, son of Duncan, had married into the family of the earls of Moray, who themselves had been kings of Scotland under King MacBeth.

There were, during William I's reign, three major rebellions in the north led by supporters of the MacWilliams – each of which, had they succeeded, would have unthrone him. But each one was successfully put down, though not without massive investment of men and resources by the king. In the final rebellion of the reign, in 1211-12, the aged and infirm king himself went north with the army. The cat's paw – or rather the Lion's paw – of William's policy to bring the north under his control consisted of two claws: one was the deployment of the latest in French military tactics and weaponry; the other was the Church.

With its well-organised hierarchy headed by bishops, and its network of monasteries, the Church was both a civil service and an education system. It was, therefore, a very important arm of government. Just how important it was to William can be seen in the tenacious way he held

on to his power to appoint bishops – even undergoing excommunication during the bitter struggle over the bishopric of St Andrews, the chief bishopric of the realm, around 1180.

The king won. The appointment of bishops in the north was therefore of particular importance to him, and this can be seen by his choice, for example, of Richard of Lincoln, a royal clerk as bishop of Moray in 1187, to be succeeded in 1203 by Brice, a member of the powerful Fleming family who had taken the name of Douglas from

their main estate in Lanarkshire.

These Douglases were closely linked to another family of Flemish origin, who had been given the leading role in the royal control of Moray – that of Freskin, who quickly adopted the surname Moray or Murray. Nowhere else in Scotland is the close alliance between royal power, the new 'French' aristocracy and the Church more clearly seen than in Moray.

In was also during William's reign that a final settlement was reached regarding the Scottish ►



■ The kind of place that King William donated to incoming Norman families – so they would hold the territory on his behalf. The mound of Culter Motte is still clearly defined on the Clydesdale landscape today.



■ The great Abbey of Arbroath (above) and King William's seal.



► Church vis-a-vis the archbishopric of York, which had been claiming authority over Scottish bishops since at least the late 11th century. The solution was neat, and effective, making the Scottish Church a 'special daughter' of Rome - which meant that,

although no separate archbishopric was set up for Scotland, its bishops were directly subjected to the Pope.

In effect the Pope became Scotland's archbishop, which cleverly side-stepped the claims from York, without creating another archbishopric on the island of Britain, to which neither York nor Canterbury would have agreed.

This ensured the independence of the Scottish Church from that of England, creating an institution that was to play such an important role in the wars against England in the early 14th century.

Although not nearly as prolific a founder of monastic houses as his grandfather, William was responsible for the rich, royal foundation of Arbroath Abbey in 1178, dedicated to St Thomas à Becket. Thomas had been murdered only a few years before, and William's choice of saint was a subtle blend of personal piety and political cheek.

During the war with Henry II (1173-74) William had been captured by Henry's men on the very day that the king himself was doing public penance for his part in Thomas's murder, and William would have viewed this as a sign of Thomas's power as a saint. However, when

William founded Arbroath, there were English garrisons in his most important royal castles, and he was a vassal of the English king. Therefore, by choosing as his personal saint the very man whom Henry had put to death, William was making a gesture of defiance towards the man who was subjecting him to such political humiliation.

But the founding and dedication of Arbroath was no mere gesture politics, since William chose it as his place of burial, breaking with the royal tradition established by Malcolm III and Margaret, his great-grandparents, of making Dunfermline the royal mausoleum.

One of William's major achievements was staying alive so long. His reign, although seeing many ups and downs in royal and national fortunes, strengthened the hold of the younger branch of the royal house of Canmore - the Margaretsons - on the throne,

so that there was no serious challenge to the succession of his only son, Alexander II, a boy of 16 on his father's death in December 1214.

He inherited from his father a modernised feudal country, with an effective military, thriving burghs as centres of trade, and an efficient royal administration. William had in the end proved himself to be a true heir not just to his grandfather's policies, but also to his abilities as a ruler. ■



■ Is this the tombstone effigy of William from Arbroath Abbey? Its head has long been missing but the assumption seems reasonable as there is a lion at its feet.

## TIMELINE

### 1152

After the death of his father Earl Henry, William is taken to Newcastle by his grandfather David I king of Scots and made Baron of Northumberland.

### 1153

William inherits Eardom of Northumberland.

### 1157

Malcolm IV hands William's earldom of Northumberland to Henry II of England.

### 1165

The death of Malcolm IV. He is succeeded by William I.

### 1174

Scots invasion of Northumberland leads to William's capture by Henry II. Imprisoned in Normandy for five months.

### 1178

William founds Arbroath Abbey, dedicating it to St Thomas à Becket, much to the chagrin of Henry II.

### 1180

William excommunicated for defending rights to appoint whoever he likes to bishopric of St Andrews.

### 1189

Needing money for Third Crusade, Richard the Lionheart sells rights over William for 10,000 merks.

### 1192

William secures the independence of the Scottish church as 'Rome's special daughter' answerable directly to the Pope.

### 1203

Appointment of Norman bishops and plantation of Norman families - the Morays or Murrays in Moray - strengthens William's control.

### 1211-12

The aged William faces the final rebellion of his reign in the north.

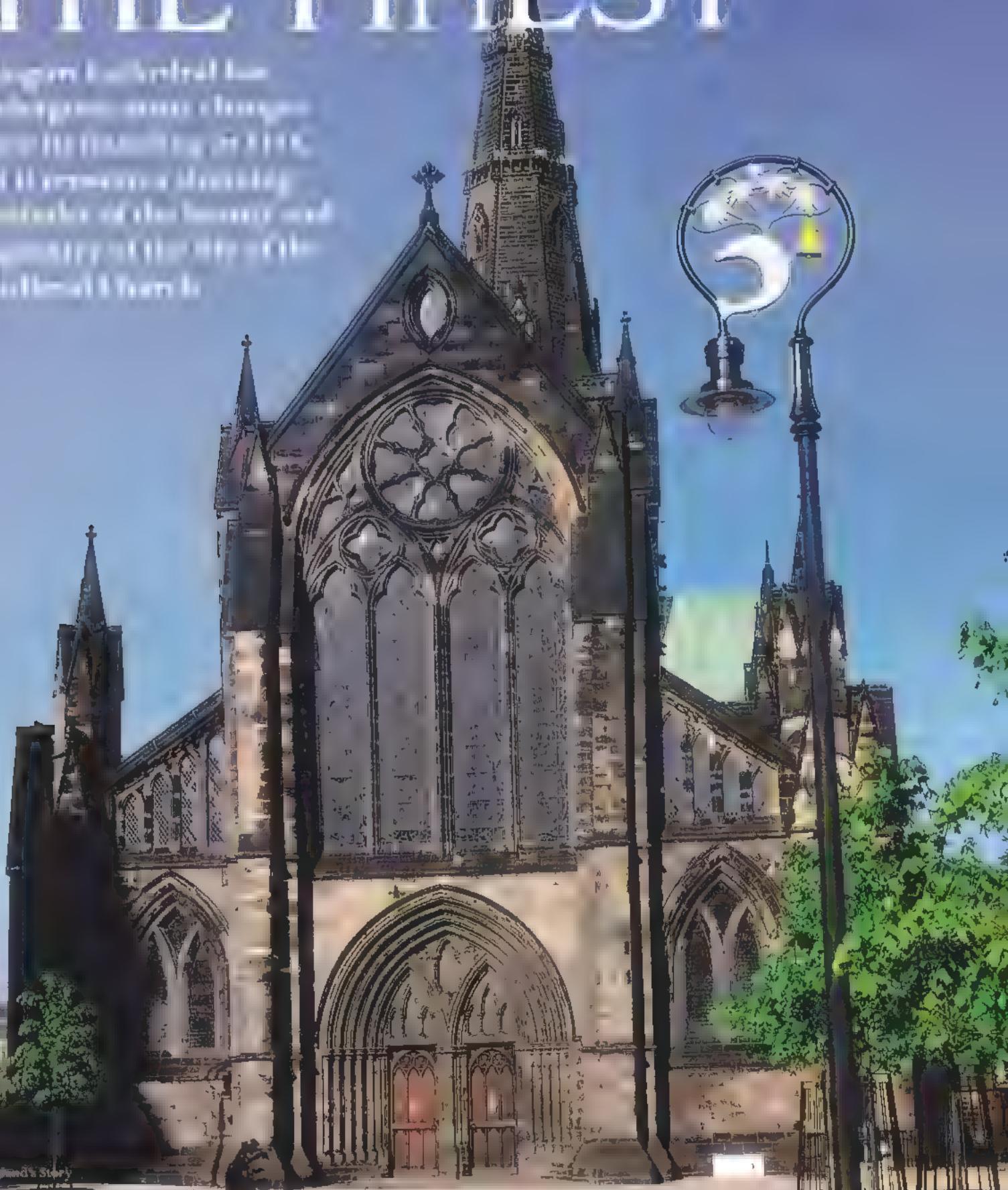
### 1214

William I dies and is buried at Arbroath Abbey. Later chroniclers call him William the Lion.

GREAT CATHEDRALS

# SURVIVAL OF THE FINEST

From cathedral to  
bombed-out shell, the  
survivors of the Blitz  
have been restored  
and repurposed. The  
surviving Gothic



**T**he origins of Glasgow as a major religious centre go back to before 600AD. Tradition says that St Kentigern chose it as the base for his activities after following the hearse of a dead holy man called Fergus to the banks of the Clyde.

But then there is a great silence for several centuries and things only become more certain from about 1114, when Earl David, who later became King David I established a bishop at Glasgow and provided funds for a new cathedral.

Parts of that cathedral were found during excavations in 1992-93, and evidence was also found for major extensions to it that had been dedicated by Bishop Jocelin in 1197.

However, the cathedral that is now seen is mainly the result of an extended building campaign that was in progress through most of the 13th century, the great age for cathedral building across Europe.

Although it was not the largest of Scotland's cathedrals – that honour went to St Andrews – it is the largest to survive virtually complete, and it must always have been one of the loveliest.

As was usual for a major church, it was set out to a cross shaped plan. The most important part, to the east, contained the high altar and the choir stalls of the canons and vicars who were responsible for a perpetual round of daily services.

It was probably also designed to contain the main shrine of St Kentigern behind the high altar, reached along a processional path of aisles down the sides and at the east end of the main space.

This eastern arm of the cathedral was separated from the rest by cross arms known as transepts, above which rose a tower and spire.

The part to the west, known as the nave, was used by the lay people for their services. It would have contained large numbers of additional altars,

as well as a pulpit and baptismal font. Projecting from its west end there were eventually two asymmetrical towers, though these were demolished in the 1840s.

The site chosen for the cathedral was a difficult one, since it slopes downwards towards the east. But the master mason who designed it turned this to his advantage, and raised the eastern parts above a crypt, which he subdivided into a series of fascinatingly complex spaces by an extraordinary and unique pattern of piers and stone vaulting.

His aim in doing this was to concentrate attention on two particular areas – the supposed site of St Kentigern's tomb, and the second most important altar in the cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Work on the cathedral was almost complete when the Wars of Independence broke out in the 1290s. Bishop Robert Wishart, who was one of the great Scottish patriots, apparently saw the struggle for freedom as even more important than the final work on his cathedral, and was accused of making siege engines out of timber provided for the building work. A case of turning ploughshares into swords.

There were probably few periods in the Middle Ages when there was not some building work in progress on the cathedral. The most important rebuilding took place after the tower had been struck by lightning at a date before 1406. As a result of this the central tower and spire had to be completely

rebuilt, and the main meeting room of the clergy – the two-storeyed chapter house at the north eastern corner – was also extensively reconstructed.

Nevertheless, the basic form of the cathedral remained essentially as laid out in the course of the 13th century.

By any assessment, the cathedral is a building of the very highest quality, and it is fascinating to speculate where all the architectural ideas must have come from, as well as the ways in which its design must have been an influence on other buildings within Scotland.

Mercifully, despite major changes in forms of worship since the Reformation, and apart from the loss of its two western towers, the building has survived remarkably well.

What is missing, however, are the rich decoration and furnishings it would once have contained and which were intended to conjure up a vision of the heavenly Jerusalem for the assembled faithful.

Almost miraculously, the stone screen which separated the canons' choir from the rest of the church is still in place, as are the carved platforms for the altars of Our Lady of Pity and the Name of Jesus in front of that screen.

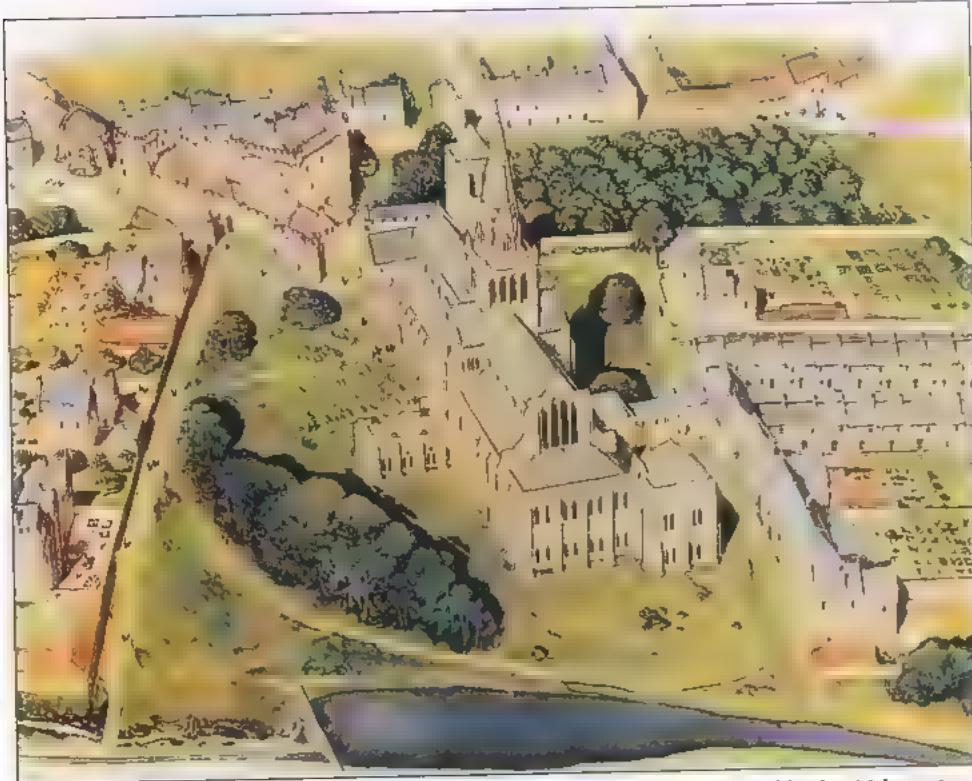
The screen survived because, after the Reformation in 1560, it became the base for a wall when the main part of the cathedral was divided into two separate churches.

But the richly painted altarpieces, lecterns, choir stalls and other furnishings were all 'cleansed' by the reformers, as were the lavishly-embroidered fabrics of vestments and altar hangings, and the precious metals and jewels of shrines and altar vessels.

We have tantalising clues to the range of such items from medieval inventories, and fragments of painted plasterwork have been found during excavations, but we can now only imagine the impact all of this must have had on the total appearance of the cathedral.

The cathedral had a magnificent setting within the precinct which enclosed the church, restricted on the east side by the steep slope down to the Molendinar Burn. On the other three sides were the Bishop's Castle, as well as numerous manses to house the canons, and other related buildings including hospitals (medieval hospitals functioned primarily for the provision of hospitality) and alms houses. One such hospital was founded for pilgrims at the Stablegreen Port, just to the north of the Bishop's Castle. Here the staff were careful not to mix up their two large pots, one for making soup, and the other for washing the pilgrim's feet!

Near the hospital was the bishop's alms house, overseen by a priest whose residence, now called Provand's Lordship, survives to this day. Wealthier pilgrims found food and lodgings in the burgh to the south, or elsewhere outwith the precinct.

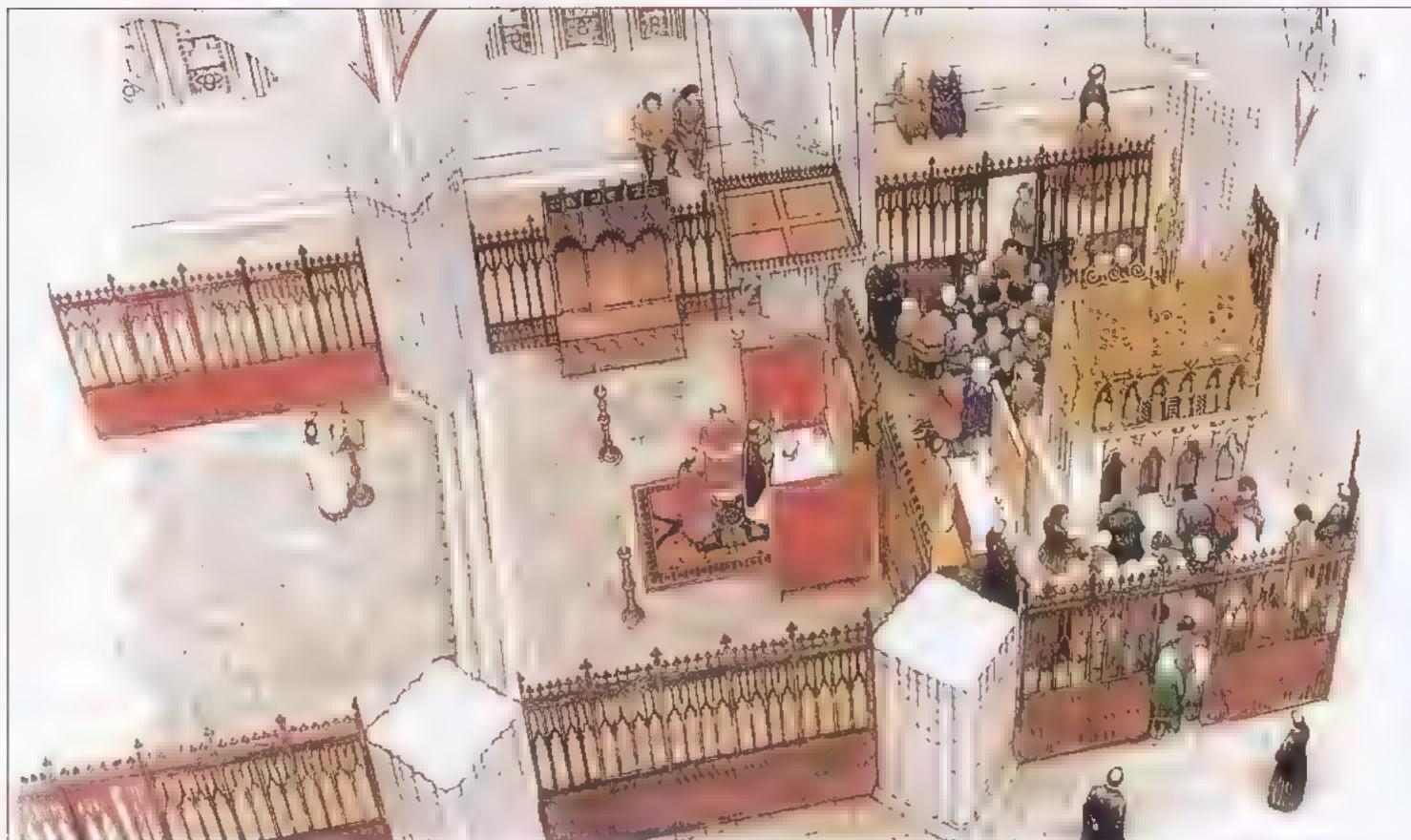


■ How the cathedral and its immediate surrounding area would have looked in the 16th century.



■ Glasgow Cathedral (left) and one of its early chapter seals (above) bearing a depiction of the Bishop of Glasgow.

# When Glasgow was a



■ Recreation of 15th-century scene at the cathedral as pilgrims gathered around the saint's shrine. Before them, the red screen and the high altar.

**G**lasgow Cathedral has evolved since the 12th century as the magnificent housing for the shrine of one of Scotland's native patron saints, Kentigern. This is the best preserved large Medieval church in Scotland, specifically designed to enable the veneration of the relics.

Nowhere else is it possible for the modern visitor to so easily replicate the experience of the Medieval pilgrim.

Glasgow shares an important feature in common with the reliquary churches of two other important native saints, at Whithorn and Iona, in possessing an underchurch or crypt – providing a highly atmospheric, semi-subterranean setting for the climax of the pilgrimage.

It is believed that Kentigern served as bishop for early Christian communities in Strathclyde, and had also been active as far south as Cumbria. Certainly, the devotees to his later Medieval cult came from these areas.

There is a tradition that Kentigern had developed a church or monastery at Glasgow in the later 6th century, on ground originally consecrated by St Ninian 100 years or so earlier.

Kentigern is believed to have died around 612. The cathedral site at Glasgow – derived from the placename *Glasgu*, meaning 'green hollow' – grew up as a minor pilgrimage place around the burial

**Light, incense, statues: it was quite a drama, weaving your way through the great cathedral as a pilgrim to pay homage to the tomb of St Kentigern**

place of the saint until the early 12th century, when Earl David provided rich endowments and encouraged the revitalisation of the cult. The town developed around an ancient crossing on the Clyde, linked to the cathedral by the High Street.

The bishops and their masons, through the various building campaigns, had crafted a design which clearly mapped the path to be taken by the pilgrims from the moment they entered the cathedral from the west, while at the same time heightening the anticipation and the drama of the experience at strategic points along the way.

The sophisticated design enabled this to take

place without causing disruption to the canons carrying out their daily round of services. At busy times, the flow of traffic could be marshalled by cathedral officials. One of the most senior of these was the Treasurer, who was charged with keeping the necessary equipment, furnishings, tapestries and treasures in good repair.

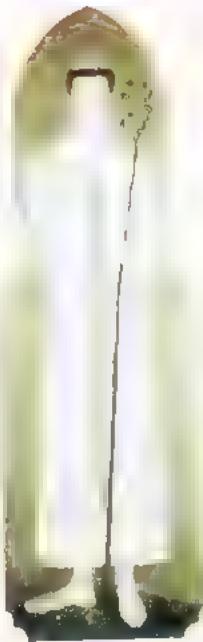
At the upper level, the focus of light, incense, statuary, and precious metals around the elevated position of the shrine would have drawn the pilgrims through the aisles to the north and south of the choir to gain access to the shrine in the apse beyond the high altar, also dedicated to St Kentigern.

The reredos screen behind the high altar would not have been so high as to obscure the shrine when viewed by worshippers in the west part of the church. A one way system might have operated to bring the pilgrim out of the south aisle to follow the processional route down the gloomy steps and into the south aisle of the crypt.

Here the upper arrangement of especially sacred features – high altar and shrine – was precisely mirrored by the location of the tomb and the altar to the Virgin.

But the real surprise for the pilgrim was the light. Natural illumination from the windows, along with candle light, was carefully managed to emphasise the tomb under its vaulted canopy with

# place of pilgrimage



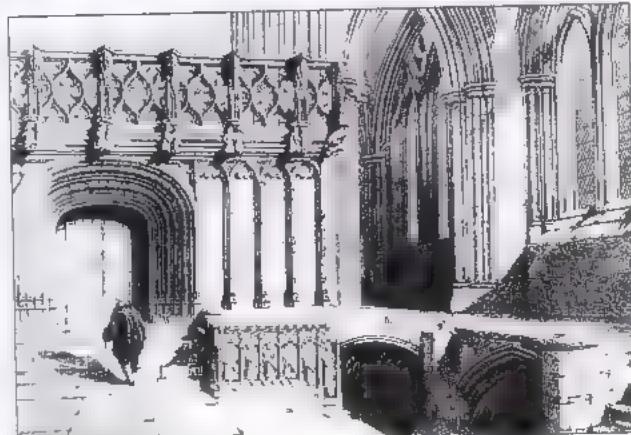
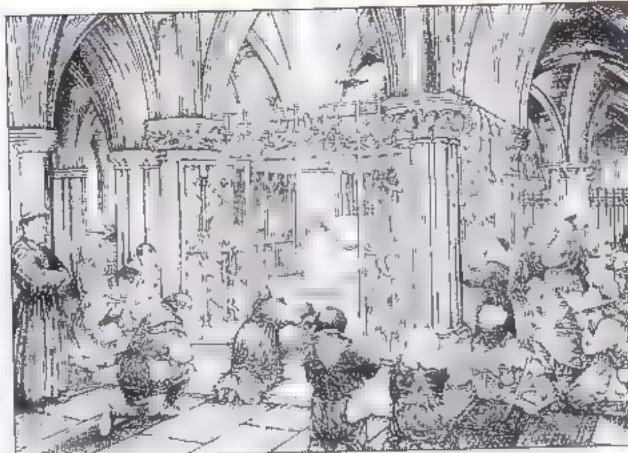
The shrine today (above) and a drawing of how it was (right) when pilgrims gathered. Below right: what survives of the rood screen and finely-carved altar. The dark area in the centre opens to steps leading down to the ultimate pilgrim experience in the crypt.

enriched ribs and bosses. This would have been further highlighted by brightly painted decoration on the stonework.

The vaulting is a triumph of the Medieval mason's craft, because not only did it serve to mark and glorify the tomb, but it was also essential in helping to support the great bulk of the upper church.

Having come down the steps, the astonished pilgrims could perform their devotions at the tomb and then move on to the prestigious Lady Chapel dedicated to the Virgin before descending more steps to the east to reach a further four chapels. They could also make their devotions here before starting the ascent and retracing their steps around the north aisle of the crypt, passing once again by the Lady Chapel and the tomb.

Although the space was cleverly managed, there would undoubtedly be occasions when large crowds attended on feast days when the crush of bodies in the claustrophobic space could easily have prompted panic, especially among the old and the sick, and others in a frenzied state having experienced 'miraculous' cures.



## Start of the Fair

Like so many saints, Kentigern had more than one annual festival, the main one being celebrated on January 13.

But towards the end of the 12th century, Bishop Jocelin established a week-long fair in July to mark the Feast of the Dedication. This was the origin of the Glasgow Fair holiday, still a favourite to this day.

We know little of the quantified benefits to the pilgrims' souls when visiting at certain times, apart from the indulgence of 40 days off purgatory for those visiting the cathedral during the Feast of the Dedication – granted by the Pope to Bishop Lauder in 1420.

We also have little idea of the extent to which relics were processed, inside and outside the cathedral, although it does seem likely that the great feasts would warrant such outings through the streets of the town.

# Building a future for the Scottish church

**A 12th-century building boom saw the Church in Scotland assert its independence with a series of magnificent cathedrals, many of which still retain their beauty**

**A**cathedral is the church in which one of the leaders of the church, a bishop, set his chair or "cathedra". It thus became the principal church of the geographical area for which he was responsible, which was known as a diocese

Because of its particular importance, a cathedral tended to be larger and more impressive than most other churches in the diocese, especially since it frequently had to house a wide range of additional functions. It usually had a permanent staff of senior clergy, known as canons and dignitaries, who were responsible for several services each day and who had their choir stalls in the part of the cathedral closest to the high altar, at the east end of the

building. Many Scottish cathedrals also served as parish churches for the local community. The lay people had their services in the western part of the building, known as the nave

In addition, a cathedral might hold the relics of an important saint. It would thus be regarded as a place of pilgrimage, and might have to house large congregations at the time of important festivals

Scotland's earliest known bishop was probably St Ninian, who lived in fifth-century Galloway. There are frequent references to bishops in the following centuries

However, it was perhaps only as part of a major reorganisation of the church that took place in the early 12th century that a complete network of bishops' dioceses covering the whole of what

eventually became Scotland was created. There were to be 13 such dioceses, each with its own cathedral. These were Aberdeen, Brechin, Dornoch, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Elgin, Fortrose, Glasgow, Kirkwall, Lismore, Saint Andrews, Smoth and Whithorn

Not all of the dioceses were regarded as of equal importance. This was partly a matter of the relative wealth of the areas they served, but to a large extent was a consequence of historical events

In the early history of Medieval Scotland, Iona, Dunkeld and Abernethy all seem to have been considered as being the spiritual and administrative heart of the church at various periods. But by at least the early 10th century the headquarters of the church was regarded as being at Kilmont, the

## Rivalry that led to a riot at the choir door

**A**t the door of Glasgow Cathedral in the summer of 1545, a church dispute suddenly erupted into ugly rioting and hysteria, according to the pen of John Knox.

Earlier, in January 1544, the Pope granted Cardinal David Beaton of St Andrews the widest authority possible over Scotland's church affairs – that of papal representative.

Unfortunately for Beaton, Glasgow's Archbishop Gavin Dunbar had other ideas. Though St Andrews was the primatial see – technically, with authority over the whole of Scotland – Dunbar was determined to keep Glasgow independent.

Matters were not helped by the clash of personalities between Beaton and Dunbar, and their difference of opinion on religious policy. The two often traded insults.

Beaton, however, was determined to assert his authority, and he carried the battle into the city of Glasgow itself. Knox records his version of a "riot" that resulted from the cross of St Andrews being publicly elevated

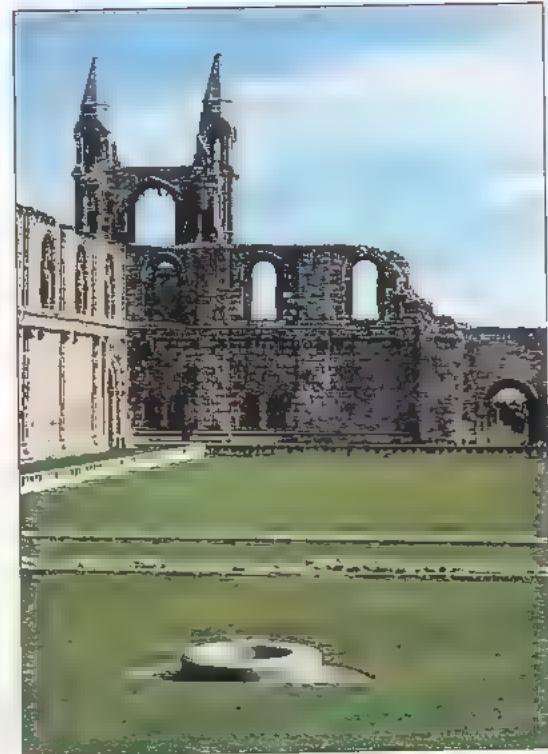
at Glasgow Cathedral. He wrote that the cross-bearers of St Andrews and Glasgow began tussling at the door of the Cathedral.

He continued: "Coming forth (or going in, all is one) at the choir door of Glasgow kirk, begins striving for state betwixt the two cross-bearers, so that from glowering they come to shoudering; from shoudering they go to buffets and from dry blows, by neffs (fists) and neffeling..."

"And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rochets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, and sidegowns might have been seen wantonly to wag from one wall to the other... But the sanctuary, we suppose, saved the lives of many."

It would, however, be foolish to take the events described here at face value, as Knox's writings are infamous for their lack of reliability.

But, at the very least, colourful accounts such as these give the impression that relations at this time between the clergy in east and west Scotland must have been in tatters.



■ St Andrews Cathedral, once home to Cardinal Beaton.



■ Despite being in a state of partial ruination, Dunkeld Cathedral retains its fine architectural qualities.

place that was later known as St Andrews

Up until the 11th century, it was abolished from the national church in 1689, the bishops of St Andrews were generally accepted as the most important of Scotland's bishops, though they were not always able to persuade their fellow bishops of this

Almost nothing is known of the earliest cathedrals. It is only from the 12th century that we begin to see what cathedrals were expected to look like.

Among the most impressive remains of a 12th century cathedral is St Magnus at Kirkwall, which was started in 1137 and was only nearing completion substantially to the original design at the time of the Reformation in 1560. Whithorn and Dunblane also have remains from this period, while fragments have been found through excavation at Glasgow.

The most ambitious cathedral to be started in the 12th century was at St Andrews where, between 1160 and 1162, Bishop Arnold laid the foundations of the largest church

built in Medieval Scotland. It replaced a much smaller building started less than 40 years earlier, and there can be little doubt that Arnold was intending to show his brother bishops and the kingdom as a whole that he was chief bishop.

The building operation was plagued by problems. Part of the building collapsed in a storm when it was eventually nearing completion in the 1270s, and it was only dedicated for worship in 1318 after being slightly reduced in size.

Then, 60 years after that dedication, it was ravaged by fire and underwent major rebuilding.

The finances of the dioceses

were more securely established by the early 13th century, although it is one of the tragedies of the Medieval church that much of their new wealth was at the expense of the parish churches.

As a result of this greater financial security, the chapters of clergy attached to the cathedral grew in size, and most of the bishops started ambitious programmes of cathedral building.

Apart from the continuing operations at St Andrews and Kirkwall, the cathedrals of Brechin, Dornoch, Dunblane, Elgin and Glasgow are all substantially of the 13th century.

There is also significant work of the same century at Dunkeld, Fortrose and Whithorn.

Considered as a group, these 13th century cathedrals represent one of the most important achievements in Scottish architectural history.

Several of them at Elgin, Dunkeld, Fortrose, St Andrews and Whithorn are now in a state of total or partial ruin, though they are as hauntingly beautiful in ruin as they were when complete. ■



■ A long time in the making: St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall, in the Orkneys. Work started in 1137 but the building was not completed until 1560.

## TIMELINE

### 550-600

St Kentigern probably develops a church or monastery at Glasgow on ground that was earlier consecrated by St Ninian.

### 612

St Kentigern, the future patron of Glasgow Cathedral, dies.

### 613-1100

Pilgrims visit the burial site of Kentigern. The area around the site is known as Glascu, or 'green hollow', from which Glasgow would later take its name.

### 1113-c.1124

Glasgow Cathedral founded on site near burial place of St Kentigern with the help of Earl David (later King David I).

### 1137

Most impressive example of an early cathedral begins building in what will become a 400-year construction marathon at Kirkwall in Orkney.

### 1160-2

Foundations laid for St Andrews Cathedral, the most ambitious and largest Medieval Scottish cathedral.

### 1197

Feast of Dedication at Glasgow Cathedral. Bishop Jocelin's decision to establish a week-long fair – forerunner of the Glasgow Fair – dates from around this time.

### 1420

A papal grant allows 40 days off purgatory for those Glasgow Cathedral pilgrims visiting during the Feast of the Dedication.

# Where have all our



■ Queen Margaret treasured the Black Rood of Scotland. Was she carrying it here atop the sceptre?

It was passed like a relay baton from queen to king, but now all trace of Scotland's precious Black Rood is lost. The story of William Wallace has vanished too. And where is the skull cast of James III? Many vital Scots relics now seem beyond recovery

**E**ward I was known as the Hammer of the Scots, but he could also be called the Robber of the Scots. For nobody made a more determined effort than the English king to strip Scotland of its separate identity and most of its treasures.

The Stone of Destiny was eventually returned after 700 years in Westminster Cathedral. But that is a rare case of a stolen Scottish prize being restored to its rightful place.

Edward also looted one of Scotland's most precious and potent holy relics, the Black Rood of Scotland. This ancient treasure is now lost in the confusing tangle of history and may never be found again.

But exactly what was it? Rood is an old word for crucifix and the Black Rood came to Scotland with Margaret, the Saxon princess who married Malcolm Canmore in Dunfermline in about 1069. She was fleeing the Norman conquest of England along with her brother, Edgar Atheling, who was in line to the English throne until Harold was vanquished at Hastings. Margaret did not arrive in Dunfermline as a typical war refugee. Far from it. She claimed that she came as 'the possessor of many relics, some of which had been given her by her great-uncle, Edward the Confessor.'

The luggage this very pious princess brought with her included many relics of the saints amongst which was that sacred crucifix called the

# treasures gone?

Black Cross, whose sanctity caused it to be revered and held in awe by all the Scottish nation'

But where did it come from? Even further back, in about 883, it is recorded that a pope called Marinus exchanged several gifts with Margaret's ancestor Alfred the Great and these included 'no small portion of the most Holy Cross on which Our Lord Jesus Christ hung for the salvation of man.'

Gifts like this would be a way of cementing a monarch's loyalty to the Church, and it seems that part of this wooden relic would be used to fashion the cross that became known as the Black Rood of Scotland. The Welsh rulers had a similar relic called the Cross Neyth, or Cross of St Neot, made from a piece of the True Cross found by St Helena when she discovered the Holy Sepulchre, Christ's tomb in Jerusalem.

The most detailed description of the Black Rood of Scotland was given by a 12th century churchman called Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, who wrote: "This cross in length about a palm, is manufactured with wonderful workmanship and decoration in gold and opens in the manner of a chest. In it is to be seen a portion of the Cross of Our Lord – as has often been proven by many miracles – having the figure of Our Saviour carved out of massive ivory and wonderfully adorned with decorations of gold".

Other descriptions suggest that the outer casing of the relic was of gilded silver rather than pure gold. Some of the gilt may have rubbed off through the years, giving it the appearance which led to the name Black Rood. This relic, with its reputation for causing miracles, was an important religious symbol for the nation.

Queen Margaret, later to be sainted, died in Edinburgh Castle in 1093 on hearing of the death of Malcolm in battle at Alnwick. She is said to have held the Black Rood before her as she breathed her last. She left the relic as an heirloom to her sons and the youngest, David I, was also said to have held it on his deathbed in Carlisle.

For a couple of centuries, little is recorded about the Black Rood of Scotland until the Wars of Independence.

Edward I began by subduing the Welsh in 1283 and plundered from them the Cross Neyth. You have to ask exactly why Edward wanted to gather items like this and take them to London. Was he an early example of a wealthy art collector?

The reason was more sinister, for the vindictive Edward had a natural talent for psychological warfare. Historians have noted that he knew how to undermine his enemies by taking anything from them that they regarded with reverence, or which gave them a sense of national identity. So

when Edward I began his campaigns against Scotland he took the Cross Neyth with him. But even more valuable items were to come his way. In 1291, when Scotland was temporarily without a monarch, Edward ordered that all relics, charters and other documents concerning the 'royal dignity of Scotland' should be taken to his castle at Berwick. For safekeeping, naturally. The Scottish abbots of Holyrood and Dunfermline, who had sworn loyalty to Edward in that confused period, were put in charge of the operation. So six large strongboxes of Scotland's valuables, relics and documents were sent from Edinburgh Castle to Berwick and onwards to London where they were deposited in the 'royal wardrobe' at Westminster. Among the detailed list of contents which the abbots drew up was this item, 'One chest with a silver cross in which is part of the Cross of Our Lord'.

So the Black Rood of Scotland fell into Edward's hands, to be used against its rightful owners. In 1296 Edward carried the Black Rood as well as the Cross Neyth with him when he took his army into Scotland as far as Elgin on the Moray Firth. Obviously, he had great faith in the miraculous powers of these religious tokens, and he continued to use them in his vain efforts to subdue the fractious Scots.

One of his biggest problems, though, was Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, who secretly plotted against the English king while pretending loyalty to him. Edward tried to use the mythical power of the Black Rood of Scotland to bring him into line. On five separate occasions, Edward made Wishart swear an oath of allegiance upon the Black Rood, the Cross Neyth, 'the consecrated Host and the Holy Evangels', but amazingly the bishop continued his clandestine opposition.

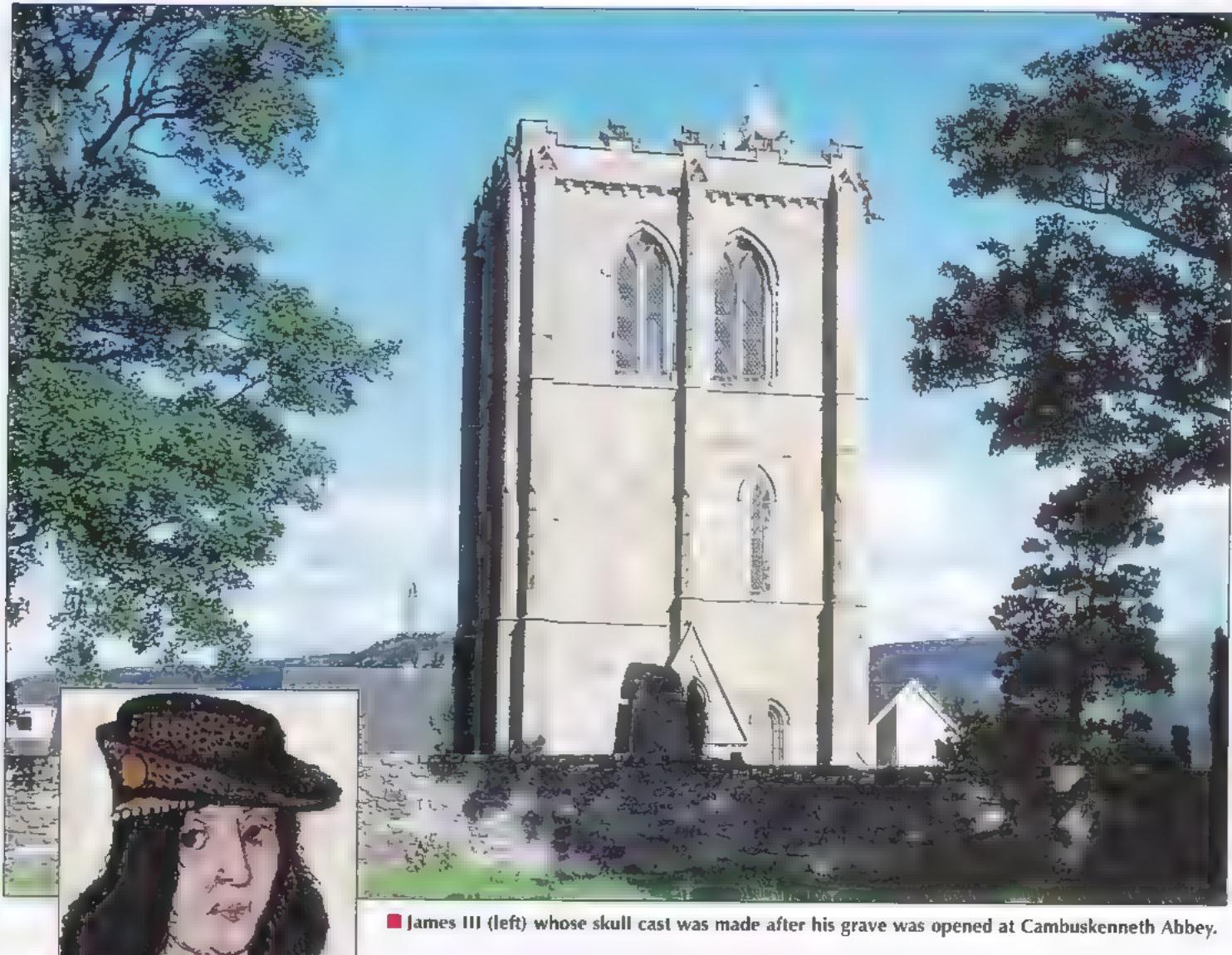
It was during Edward's campaign of 1296 that he removed the Stone of Destiny from Scone to be installed in Westminster Cathedral. But the Black Rood of Scotland is mentioned again in 1307 when Edward died at Burgh on Sands as he headed north on another sortie against his hated Scots. An inventory of the king's gear on that trip included 'the Black Rood of Scotland, constructed of gold, with a gold chain, in a casket with a



■ The only contemporary record of the life and times of William Wallace – by his chaplain John Blair – has been missing for centuries, leaving huge gaps in our knowledge of the country's national hero.

wooden interior and with its outer side of silver gilded over'. But in 1328 in Northampton, the English parliament came to terms with the Scots and agreed to return at least some of the relics which Edward I had pilfered. This deal included the Stone of Scone. But, we are told, the citizens of London wouldn't allow it and so the stone remained at Westminster.

The Black Rood of Scotland, though, was among the items returned, and we next hear of it in 1346 when King David II of Scotland raised an army in Perth, headed south, and was routed by the English at the Battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham. David had taken the relic with him, but clearly its magic didn't work. He was captured with the Black Rood in his possession, and the ancient cross of St Margaret was taken to Durham Cathedral. In 1383 it was listed among the holy ►



■ James III (left) whose skull cast was made after his grave was opened at Cambuskenneth Abbey.

► relics held there. But in 1540, when the cathedral was pillaged on the orders of King Henry VIII, there is no mention of it. Had the monks sent the Black Rood to the Continent for safety? There is no record. So one of Scotland's great national treasures seems to have vanished for all time.

Less is known about another historic item, the account of the life and campaigns of the national hero, William Wallace. Written in Latin by Wallace's chaplain, Master John Blair, this was the only contemporary record of the great man's deeds. Today it would be invaluable to historians as well as Hollywood scriptwriters – because there are still many gaps in our knowledge of the 'Braveheart'.

It was nearly two centuries after the hero's death that the Scottish poet and storyteller Blind Harry wrote his epic 'The Wallace'. Although some of his facts are doubtful, there are details which suggest he had access to Master John Blair's manuscript. Harry, blind from birth, was a retainer at the court of James IV around 1490. But all efforts to trace the Blair manuscript have so far drawn a blank.

Have we been careless with our past? Perhaps

we were too trusting, as was shown in the case of the Bell of St Fillan. Bells made of iron and later of bronze were an important part of the ritual of the ancient Celtic church. Several survive in our museums, but many more have been lost.

Amazingly, the Bell of St Fillan – then at least 800 years old – was still being kept in the open, in St Fillan's churchyard in Perthshire, in the 18th century. It was credited with miraculous powers for healing the sick. One local belief was that whenever the bell was removed from its normal resting place in the churchyard, it was found back where it belonged the following morning.

Enter an early tourist, described as an English gentleman, who visited the area in 1798. He wrote in his diary, 'In order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of this story, I carried it off with me and mean to convey it to England.' And so he did, unconsciously mirroring the habits of Edward Plantagenet five centuries earlier. And for 70 years, St Fillan's Bell was missing.

By pure luck, a Scottish bishop was invited to a soiree at Lord Crawford's place in Dundee and chatted to some fellow guests about the rituals of the early Scottish church. He mentioned the importance of these ancient bells. An English gent in the company said, in effect: 'Strange that I've seen a bell of that description at the house of a relative in Hertfordshire, actually.' It turned out

to be the Bell of St Fillan. Like the Stone of Destiny, it was another Scottish treasure that came home from England, although with rather less publicity.

A more macabre 'treasure' is still missing. It's a stucco skull cast of King James III, which was made when his tomb was opened and the remains of his body – and that of his queen, Margaret of Denmark – exhumed at Cambuskenneth Abbey in 1864.

The idea was to keep a record of the remains after the bodies were reburied in their place under the high altar (and now also under a modern monument which was ordered by Queen Victoria).

According to parish records of 1896, the cast was taken for safe keeping to something called 'Stirling Museum'. There is no such place and no record of the cast. Strong Smith Museum in Stirling is said to a private collection of antiques just across the Firth of Forth.

It's owner, a John McFarlane, tried in the 1930s to close the business and sell all its artefacts to a local antique dealer who has since died. So it would not be unreasonable to calculate that what was probably the most vital piece in his collection is now in private ownership. ■

# Beasties that gave fright in the night

**M**oaning winds in the great forests, a swirl of mist, croaks of ravens, dark caves, sinister lochs and mountains like sleeping giants. It's no wonder imaginations in Scotland soared in the old days at the howl of a wolf - with fearful glances at the dark beyond.

Kelpies, monsters, horrors with horns, snarling dogs and dreaded water-horses were frighteners of the long ago. Many nightmares took animal form and were made into stone symbols.

In Celtic legend all sorts of animals - boar, bear, stags, horses, eagles, ravens and birds - are given recognition in carvings or symbol stones. Here are some that sent pulses fluttering.

**Dogs:** Dogs' skulls in the mesolithic age were frequently buried with human remains, but since then black dogs, howling dogs and red-eyed dogs have all stirred imaginations and developed into legends. It is even said today that the Grey Dog of Meoble, near Arisaig, still puts in an occasional appearance to give unsuspecting folk a fright.

**Hares:** In Celtic superstition hares were controlled by witches on being fed witches' blood.

**Water Horse and Water Bull:** They could take the shape of man or horse, and were said to tempt people - especially children - to ride on their backs, but the end of the journey was the bottom of a loch. The fiercest of all was the Each Uisge. It was a handsome horse, but its hide was so sticky that once you were on its back you were stuck fast. The end was a devouring somewhere below in the depths. In Shetland the water horse is called a Shoopitie and a Border version is a Shellycoat, because he covered himself in sea shells.

■ A kelpie abducts his human lover: from a 1920 fairy book.



■ Shocker: a kelpie springs up to scare a passer-by in this illustration from 1821.

which knocked together when he left his fresh water lair.

**Kelpies:** Water horses were loch and sea creatures, while the kelpie's home was in running water. It took the shape of a sprightly young horse or, when it chose, other forms such as the body of a shaggy old man. The kelpie's prey met the same gruesome end - carried to a deep pool with a mighty blow of its tail like the crack of thunder as it disappeared below the surface.

**The Ceasg:** This was a Highland mermaid, with the tail of a young salmon. Those who came in contact with her were advised to go warily because she was known to devour humans. Some say human sacrifices were sometimes offered to her, but if she was captured she had the power to grant three wishes in return for her release.

**Selkies:** The likeness of seals' faces to people inevitably gave rise to the mystical seal folk. Selkies are big seals, and it is believed their natural form is human. Some say they were fallen angels who had committed sin in Heaven, and were returned to a half-world below the waves or on lonely shores. Others believed they were ordinary people who had sinned on land and were sent to the sea as punishment. They could take human form as they came ashore. There are tales of how male selkies would woo young girls on land and children born from the courtship had webbed feet and hands. The selkies were familiar in Orkney and selkie kin were found throughout the Western Isles.

**Loch Morar Monster:** Everyone has heard about the Loch Ness monster, but there have also been sightings of a monster in Loch Morar, believed to be a Nessie cousin, given the close proximity to Loch Ness. The first sighting dates back to 1888, but the dramatic account in 1969 of how two Mallaig men were attacked by a monster while rowing made headlines around the world. A further monster is said to live nearby in Loch Shiel.

**Sea Serpent:** Giant water snakes or enormous lizard-like creatures that suddenly rise out of the sea to strike terror into the hearts of the beholders are also part of Scottish folklore. Yet

there are unexplained instances of perfectly sane, respected citizens who claim to have been attacked by such creatures that supposedly existed only in stories or bad dreams.

In 1808 there is an account of a Kirk minister being attacked by a serpent 21 metres long. In the same year there were reports of attacks by similar water reptiles in Orkney.

In 1893 a London doctor was set upon by something like a huge lizard while out sailing on Loch Alsh. And in 1919 a sea serpent was spotted off the island of Hoy in Orkney.

One of the great animal legends is how King David I founded Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh after an encounter with a miraculous stag. The king had clattered on horseback out of Edinburgh Castle to go hunting below in the great forest of Drumsheugh. He became separated from his followers and was unhorsed by a great stag. As he

clutched at the goring antlers, the stag vanished, leaving a cross in the King's hands. In gratitude for his life being spared, King David ordered an abbey to be built on the spot where he had faced the stag.

The remains of the abbey are in the grounds of Holyrood Palace to this day. ■



■ A water horse rising into the night, from a 1937 book.





**England and Wales were under the Norman thumb, but King David's French connections turned the tables on incoming 'conquerors'**

■ The Normans conquered England by force, as graphically depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. But they came to Scotland by invitation.

# THE QUIET CONQUEST

**T**he year 1066 is perhaps the best known date in British history when Duke William of Normandy, sailed across the English Channel and defeated Harold, King of England

William's army was not all from Normandy, and included adventurers from neighbouring regions. What they all had in common was that they were masters of a new kind of warfare fought on horseback. These mail-clad knights, when used in significant numbers, overpowered more traditional armies composed largely of foot soldiers.

These knights were also familiar with a new way of ensuring that victory on the battlefield led to a lasting conquest.

An earth mound, known as a motte, with timber defences on top could be quickly erected. The deluxe version included another mound, called a bailey, which gave more room for the provision of creature comforts. In due course the wealthier lords converted their mottes into stone castles.

William secured his conquest of England by replacing many local landholders with his followers. So many knights rose from obscurity to

become major lords. Those with the most potential for territorial gains were the Norman earls on the Welsh border. Large areas of Wales were seized.

The descendants of those who took Welsh territory spearheaded the conquest of Ireland. The eventual losers of the Norman conquest of 1066 were therefore not only the English ruling elite, but the Welsh and Irish kings.

The Scottish experience, however, was very different. In fact, the King of Scots was the only native ruler who gained in the long term from the Norman presence in Britain and Ireland.

When William the Conqueror's son, Henry I (1100-35), seized the English throne after the death of his brother, William Rufus, he felt the need to enhance his standing as King of England. Within a few months he united the new Norman royal family with the ancient English dynasty by marrying Matilda, eldest daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret.

Matilda's uncle was Edgar the Aetheling, whose throne had been usurped by William.

King Henry got on well with his new wife's young brother David, and arranged he should marry a rich heiress. In this way David became





one of the greatest lords in England

He already had a following of knights based in his English lands, and he had also developed friendships with others at the English court. It was natural he would use these knights to help him to even greater things.

It was also natural that those of noble birth, but few prospects, would see David as a powerful patron who could reward them if they served him. Among those knights whom David I established in Scotland were some whose descendants became kings themselves.

A knight from Shropshire of Breton descent was granted extensive estates in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire for instance, and became hereditary Steward in David's court. His descendants took Stewart as their surname – and so was born one of Europe's major royal dynasties. William Wallace's ancestor may have been among the Steward's followers from Shropshire.

The Bruce, already a major Norman family in Yorkshire, were made Lords of Annandale by David

These incoming knights brought their own followers who also, in due course, became Scottish knights.

Many of David I's knights continued to hold lands in England although usually not much.

If any of them became important in Scotland, their relationship with

the king of Scots was what naturally concerned them most. When it came to the crunch, even the Bruces, who remained significant lords in England, regarded Annandale as their most important possession.

Shortly after Norman power became established in northern England, Scotland might have been threatened with the same kind of troubles Wales had suffered in the 1090s.

But through his prestige as a major Norman baron in England,

now be part of Scotland. The introduction of Norman knights into Scotland was peaceful simply because they were invited, and did not force their way in. There were many areas which saw few, if any, Norman incomers until much later.

From what is now Stirlingshire north to Aberdeenshire, the country was dominated by loyal Gaelic earls and thanes who, in due course, became knights themselves.

Knights were only settled on royal lands here in significant numbers by William I, and only became powerful in the region by marrying into Gaelic families.

But the Normans in Scotland were only peaceful from the point of view of King David and those who were glad to be his subjects.

He put his knights where he needed their military might, not just their social skills.

Beyond Aberdeen David was threatened by Angus, ruler of Moray. In 1130 Angus led an invasion south, but was killed and his army massacred at Stracathro.

Among the knights brought in to help conquer Moray was a Flemish adventurer whose descendants became the dominant force in the region and took the name Moray (or Murray).

Bruce and Stewart were among the knights given large lordships in the south west to secure this area and contain the kings of Galloway.

## TIMELINE

### 1054

MacBeth uses a Norman force at the Battle of Dunsinnan.

### 1066

The Normans' conquest of England.

### 1107

David, Earl of Huntingdon, with the backing of England's Norman King Henry I, wins Strathclyde from brother Alexander I.

### 1124

David becomes King David I and grants extensive lands to his Norman followers – such as the Bruces and Stewarts – in the south of Scotland.

### 1130

Angus, Mormaer of Moray, rebels against David I – who uses his Norman forces to end the rising.

### 1135

David invades Norman England, turning the tables on Norman knights there.

### 1165-1214

William the Lion starts to settle Normans in the Gaelic heartland north of the Forth-Clyde line.



■ Mounted might: it was their mastery of cavalry tactics that made the Norman knights so effective in battle.

David reversed the process in 1124. Now it was Norman knights in northern England who felt the heat.

When Henry I died in 1135, David took advantage of the ensuing civil war and invaded, not to gain booty, but to conquer.

For the last half of his reign David's kingdom included modern Cumbria, and his son and heir Henry was Earl of Northumberland.

If Henry had lived to succeed David, it is probable that Carlisle, and maybe even Newcastle, would



# Genius who never ran out of steam

**He didn't invent the steam engine or see steam's potential in a boiling kettle. But these are about the only things James Watt didn't do with the wet cloudy stuff that powered the Industrial Revolution**

**H**e was one of the founding fathers of the Industrial Revolution – a brilliant and dedicated Scot with an immense range of talents. James Watt was without doubt one of the most influential inventors the country has ever produced. He was a scientist, an engineer, a surveyor, a perfectionist and, of course, a genius.

Watt may not have invented the steam engine, but he certainly revolutionised its use and turned it into one of the great driving forces of the age of industrialisation. Watt's contribution to Britain's wealth and prosperity during the 18th and 19th centuries was so great that he is commemorated with a memorial in London's Westminster Abbey – an honour given to very few other men who tinkered with engines.

He was born in Greenock in 1736. His father, who was treasurer and magistrate in the town at the time, ran a successful business dealing in shipbuilding and house construction. Watt went to grammar school and then on to Glasgow University, where he worked as an instrument repairer. It was not long, however, before wider horizons beckoned. In 1755, at the age of 19, he went to London to train as a mathematical instrument maker. Although he became ill and returned to Glasgow within a year, he had learned enough by then to open a shop back at the university and begin to make instruments such as compasses and scales. He began to mix with other

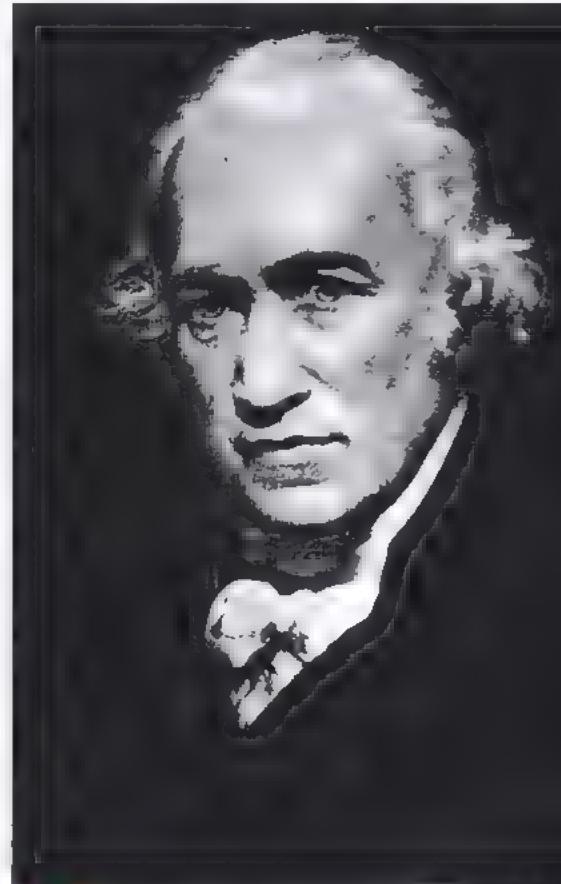
scientists and became interested in engines.

Legend has it that Watt realised how powerful steam could be when he watched a kettle boiling. In fact, this isn't true – his conversion to the cause was rather less dramatic than that, though its significance was to be profound. In 1764, he was working patiently repairing a model of the Newcomen steam engine of the time when he thought carefully about how much steam it wasted. He pondered on the problem, until the answer came to him while taking a Sunday stroll round Glasgow Green. He realised that to increase the engine's efficiency, a separate condenser was needed. The loss of latent heat from the Newcomen engine, he realised, was its greatest failing, but allowing condensation to take place in a separate but connected chamber could solve this problem.

With the help of loans from the chemist Joseph Black, Watt made a test model and took out a patent for his new device. However, the development of this was far from straightforward – and beset by technical and financial problems. To make a living while he perfected his invention, Watt began to work as a surveyor. He helped on the Crinan, Forth and Clyde and Caledonian canals, and was involved in the construction of the Monkland Canal.

In 1774, his life took another turn. The entrepreneur Matthew Boulton, who had built the Soho ironworks near Birmingham, offered Watt a partnership in return for a share of his patent. Bored with both surveying and Scotland, he happily accepted the challenge. Boulton's cash backing meant that real progress could finally be made with the development of Watt's brainchild. By 1776, two working engines had been installed in a colliery and an ironworks, and proved to be a success. To open up further opportunities, however, the engine needed more refinement. The Ayrshire-born scientist William Murdoch, later to become a scientific pioneer in his own right, helped Watt to develop a rotary engine suitable for corn and cotton mills. Watt made his breakthrough on this in 1781 and the following year invented a double-acting engine, in which the piston pushed as well as pulled.

Further advances in the process followed, including the development of an automatic speed control governor and a pressure gauge. By this time, Watt had made a small fortune, with his invention being in demand from mills, factories, canals, waterworks and even distilleries. Royalty payments for the use of the device had netted him



■ James Watt didn't like to see steam wasted, and that dislike was his greatest inspiration.

more than £75,000. With his wealth in the bank, he could start to detach himself from business and follow his other interests. He established a new firm, Boulton and Watt, to manufacture his engines more competitively, and took on other projects.

To keep himself occupied, he took a position as consultant to the Glasgow Water Company and also made an ingenious sculpting machine which he used to produce busts and figures for his friends. He also defined the term horsepower and even invented a graphite copying device.

Watt's genius, unlike that of many inventors, was not limited to steam engines. He invented an early form of steam boiler and was elected to the Royal Society of London and the French Academy, and even offered a peerage, which he declined.

Watt died in 1819, and was laid to rest at Handsworth Church near Birmingham. He may have spent much of his life south of the border, but he is still remembered as one of Scotland's most famous and brilliant sons.



## JOHN LOGIE BAIRD

**T**ELEVISION has been one of the most powerful and influential inventions of the 20th century. It has literally transformed lives by bringing knowledge and entertainment into everyone's living room.

The father of television was the Edinburgh-born inventor John Logie Baird. Dogged by frustration throughout his life, Baird was never to achieve the commercial breakthrough he deserved. However, he was always perceived as a visionary, trying to push the frontiers of TV technology as far as they would go.

His genius lay in the fact that he was ahead of his time – but that was also a factor in others' reluctance to put his brilliant ideas into action.

Baird was born in 1888, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He was educated at Glasgow University and at the City's Royal

Technical College – now Strathclyde University before moving to London. He started life in business – making products such as socks, jam and soap – but his real interest lay in inventions. He was fascinated in particular with the idea of television, a concept which had been discussed by scientists since the middle of the 19th century but which had never been realised.

Baird believed he could make the technological breakthrough necessary to deliver moving pictures by use of radio waves. Forced to retire from his job when he became ill, he laboured on the project on the edge of poverty, patching up his clothes to prevent them falling off his back. He knew that others were working on the same idea, and raced to beat them. By 1923 he had a device to patent and in 1924 finally managed to assemble a working prototype he called the Televisor.

The device, made largely out of household junk and containing a spinning disc, managed to transmit an image of a Maltese cross to a receiver three yards away. The technology was crude, but Baird had proved it worked. The new invention

matured rapidly. By 1926 he was able to demonstrate moving pictures, and the following year sent an image by telephone line from London to Glasgow. In 1928, he transmitted pictures to New York – the world's first transatlantic TV broadcast. The BBC became interested and Baird's system allowed the fledgling corporation to broadcast its first pictures. But it was not fully committed to his technology, and was also evaluating a rival system from the American company EMI which was electronic rather than mechanical.

To his dismay, the BBC eventually switched to the EMI system, which it believed to be better. However, Baird went on to work on other concepts. By 1938, he was publicly demonstrating colour TV, and he went on to work on high definition TV. He is also thought to have been heavily involved in the development of wartime radar.

Baird died in 1946. He may never have become rich because of his great invention, but he never allowed obstacles or disappointment to beat him. He was the Scot who would not give up, and the world remembers him for it to this day.



## JOHN LOUDON McADAM

**A**LL great inventors walk a long and difficult road before achieving fame and fortune. But John Loudon McAdam didn't just walk the road – he built it.

The Ayr-born pioneer created road surfaces which spread throughout the world, including tarmac – the surface named after him, and still in use today. McAdam revolutionised

transport in the days before the pneumatic tyre and the internal combustion engine.

Like many Scots of his day, McAdam (born 1856) made his fortune in America, where he was a merchant and agent. But when he returned to his native Ayrshire, he was appalled by the state of the local roads, which were little more than dirt tracks, and resolved to do something about them.

After being appointed

surveyor to roads in Bristol in 1815, he put his ideas into practice. He came up with the idea of laying broken stone chips on top of a levelled and well-drained sub surface. The scheme worked. McAdam's roads did not require expensive foundations, and were quickly adopted in Europe and the USA. By the time he died in 1836, he had changed the face of transport and given motorists a smoother ride.

■ Broken stone chips represented the road to success – and America – for John McAdam.

■ The Scot who would never give up. Though the BBC chose another system, John Logie Baird had done enough development on his own to earn the title 'father of television'.

# Gorbals newsboy ruled the world



■ Lynch was rated as one of the greatest champions by other boxers, including the legendary American heavyweight Joe Louis.

At 22, Benny Lynch became Scotland's first world boxing champion. At 33, he died a penniless, alcoholic wreck

The Gorbals in the Thirties and Forties was an architectural mess of grey and gaunt tenements. It was a battlefield of the under privileged scrambling to exist. With nothing more exciting to view than passing trams, their resilience and camaraderie made life bearable

A luxury on good days was putting on a 'tanner-double' with one of the illegal street bookies who operated openly when the beat bobby chose not to look

Affluence was having enough to buy a pint in one of the motley spit and sawdust pubs - there were 118 of them. Outside one, the Mally Arms, a fearsome little fella called Benny Lynch sold papers and guarded his pitch with bare-knuckle ferocity

Born in a single end in Florence Street in April, 1913, at eight he was already regarded as one to watch. More accurately, to fear

The Gorbals community craved its very own superman - a sporting hero, one who had beaten a system which seemed to favour the few. That man was to be the newsboy Benny - as gallus a wee Glasgow toughie as could be found in any direction or distance from Gorbals Cross. In seven turbulent years he came to symbolise the roller-coaster life on the south side of the Clyde

After 80 recorded contests he became the first Scot to win a world boxing title, and with it the British and European crowns. On September 9, 1935, he battered Jackie Brown so mercilessly that he threw in the towel before the end of the second round

Welshman Jimmy Wilde, who won the first flyweight title contest against Young Zulu Kid in 1916, was at the ringside to see a victory regarded at the time as sensational.

Wilde said "It was a remarkable performance. Lynch has a great punch and knows where to put it."

Most of Benny's contemporaries are

dead, but Charlie Kerr, now a sprightly 80 and a big hitting Scottish bantam champion in his day, sparred with him at the Premierland in Rutherglen Road and got to know him well

"The truth is, when he was preparing for a fight he trained hard, but when he wasn't he drank hard," Charlie recalls. "He used to instruct lads like me when we sparred. That was his style. He wanted to help, and didn't hurt us."

"The trouble was, he was too good a bloke. He couldn't say no when he was winning and had too many fair weather pals. In the pub, once he became a really big name, he was mobbed."

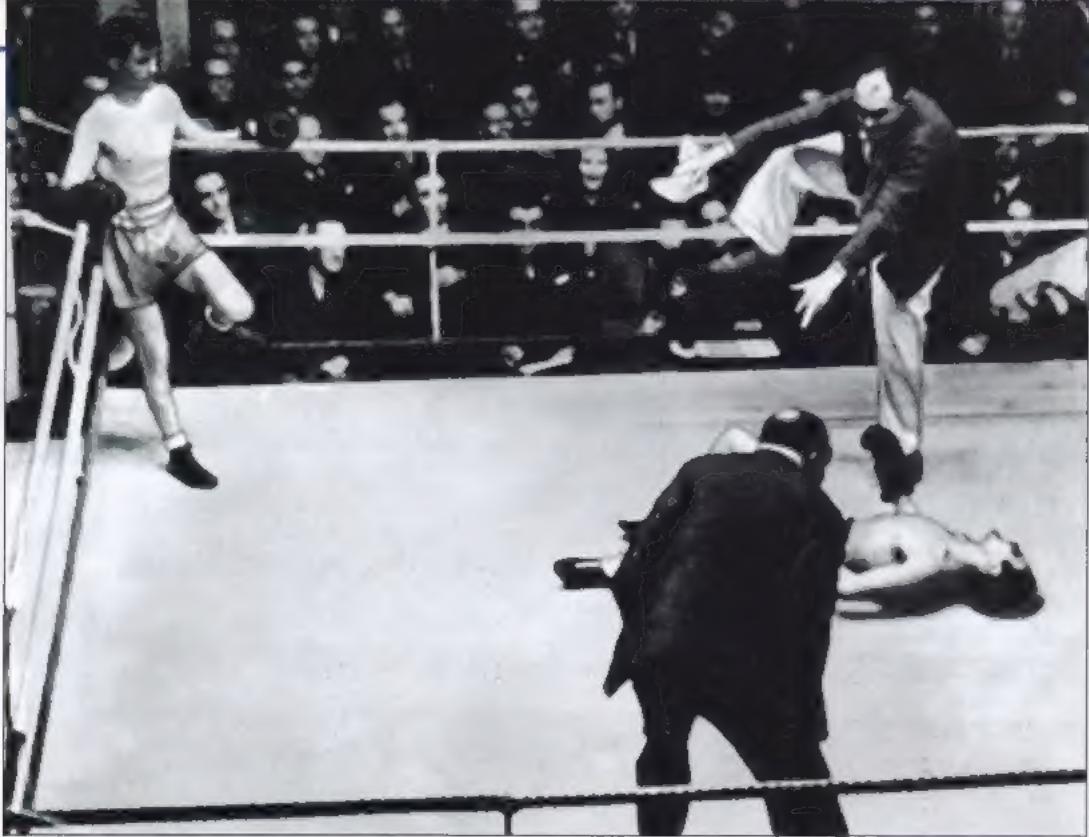
"And he always paid, of course. When he was in the money he was never short of followers and his hand was always in his pocket."

"The ordinary people of the Gorbals just loved him. They treated him better than royalty. After he won the world title against Brown the city went mad. I've never seen anything like it since. People wanted to speak to him or just touch him as he passed. He was the king."

"Boxing then was really something. Benny was world champion, but we also had two British champs - John



■ Charlie Kerr: sparred with Lynch.



■ Lynch watches dispassionately as yet another opponent is counted out. Right: His headstone at Lambhill.

McGroarty at featherweight and Jake Kilrain at welterweight."

Sir Harry Lauder, the music hall star, was regularly among ringside notables. He often produced 10 shillings and sent out for a half-bottle of whisky. He advised Benny that honesty was always the best policy, but added wryly: "After you've made your pile."

Benny never did bank a fortune, even when his earnings soared from £10 to close on £3,000. He spent as he made it. Eventually his manager and mentor Sammy Wilson split with him after a fall-out.

The crushing victory over Brown was Benny's most spectacular feat, but retaining the world fly-weight title against the Filipino Small Montana at London's Wembley Pool was possibly his greatest.

The Daily Record splashed the report of Elky Clark, himself a former European flyweight champion, on the front page.

Clark wrote: "Lynch won with a bit in hand. Benny has always been noted as a fighter depending mostly on a big punch. On this display he surprised his most ardent admirers by the way he boxed and brought into play a clever craftsmanship.

"Lynch throughout was the aggressor and although he failed to land a knock-out punch he obviously worried Montana with wicked lefts and rights to the body."

The purse, with no TV fee in these days, was £6,000, of which Lynch claimed £2,600. A crowd of 13,600 paid £14,000.

Benny's message to Scotland was

relayed like a royal decree by the Record's football scribe Waverley. He asked him: "How are you Benny?"

"I'm feeling very good," he replied. "I'm not in the least bit damaged and I'm mighty proud that once again I've won for Scotland."

In October, 1937, big names like movie idol Victor McLaglen – once a heavyweight himself – who starred in Hollywood epics like *The Quiet Man*, and the nearly world heavyweight champion Tommy Farr watched Lynch at his training camp at Lennoxton before he fought Peter Kane. English scribes hoped hard-hitting Kane would silence the Scots by stopping their hero. The reverse happened in the 13th round.

Elky Clark said it was the

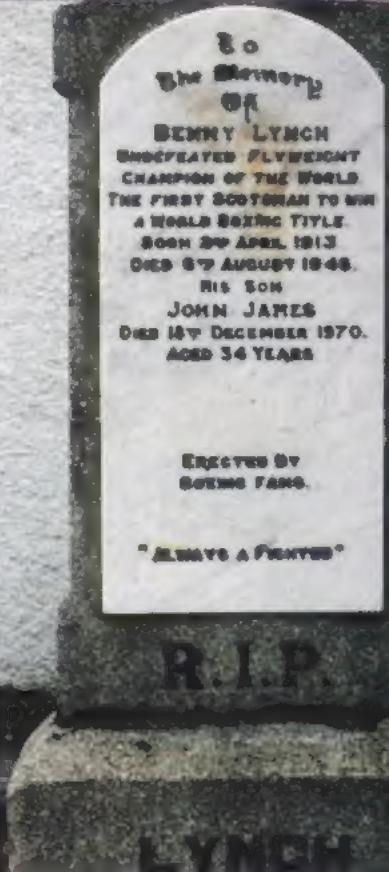
finest-ever flyweight contest, and McLaglen lifted Benny into his arms and said he was the Jack Dempsey of the little men.

Eight months later, and soon after a non-title rematch with Kane was drawn, Benny was counted out of the 8-stone division by the British Boxing Board of Control. He was over-weight and stressed by booze.

He beat the American Jackie Jurich with a 12th-round knock-out but his belt was taken away.

Not only did he fail to make flyweight, he was half a pound over the heavier bantam limit. It wasn't his first lapse at the scales and officials would take no more of it.

So, from being paraded in an open car through city streets mobbed



with cheering crowds, there began the saddest tumble from greatness to mediocrity.

Benny had two more fights. He was a shadow of his best and lost both, the last a humiliating knockout in the fifth round by the nondescript Aurel Zoma at Earl's Court, London.

Benny boxed three-round two-minuters at the booths, usually on Glasgow Green. They were called 'smooches' or 'fanny fights.'

Pros such as Benny punched with open gloves to avoid hurting challengers who got a couple of quid if they stayed upright.

The final bell came for Benny when, failing to beat alcoholism, he died fevered with pneumonia on August 8, 1946, at the Southern General Hospital in Glasgow. He was a pathetic wreck, aged 33, and virtually penniless.

Sadly, that was the fate of his eldest son, John, who also died in his early thirties, drink-addicted like his dad. Another son, Bob, prospered in Canada, and Benny's widow Anne remarried and lived happily across the Atlantic.

Only a few of a small army of genuine friends were loyal to the end, when a truly great little battler discovered too late that fame and the bottle don't mix.

All that remains is a headstone in a wind-swept cemetery at Lambhill on the north fringe of Glasgow, and a plaque in his beloved Florence Street. But memories of his explosive ring exploits endure.

There has never been his like since, and never will be again. ■



■ Benny celebrates his world title win with his wife Anne in a London hotel.

# The Lion's legacy was to set a new Standard



■ Balmerino Abbey: founded on the south shore of the Firth of Tay by William's queen, Ermengarde. She was buried under the high altar.



**Biker historian**  
**David R**  
**Ross finds**  
**the last**  
**traces of**  
**two Scots**  
**kings**

William I of Scotland is generally referred to as 'The Lion' in our history books. Not because he was any great shakes as a warrior, but because he was the first to use the 'Lion Rampant' as his standard – the same emblem so beloved by Scottish crowds at modern sporting events.

The story goes that he was gifted a couple of lions by some wealthy individual returning from a crusade, and kept them as pets at Stirling Castle. Indeed, there is still a part of the castle known as the Lions' Den.

William liked these roaring beasts so much that he had one depicted, standing upright, claws raking, on his armorial bearings. Every king and queen of Scots has used it since.

William had a long, fairly uneventful reign, but he has left a lasting legacy by being the founder of the Abbey of Arbroath.

It was built on a gigantic scale, and although deprivations after the Reformation stripped away much of its finery, enough remains to interest even the most casual visitor.

The abbey stands in the centre of the east-coast town. One of the remaining towers has a large round window on it that is fondly called the 'O' in Arbroath.

When William died, he was buried under the high altar, and although

nothing of the original tomb remains, a modern plaque marks his last resting place. The Abbot's house in the grounds at least still stands complete, and has within it part of an effigy believed to have come from William's tomb.

William's queen was Ermengarde, and not to be outdone, she founded her own abbey at Balmerino – which has since been badly stripped of much of its stonework, though you can still discern much of the original cloisters.

Ermengarde was buried under the high altar at Balmerino, which was admired for its pleasant surroundings. The ruins stand on the south shore of the Firth of Tay, between Newburgh and Newport, a few miles west of the Tay Rail Bridge, on an unclassified road, and the countryside round about has many quiet lanes that are a joy to drive.

While in the vicinity, it is worth visiting the ruins of another ancient abbey – Lindores, just east of Newburgh, which has connections with William Wallace. And in Coupar Angus there are the remains of a Cistercian monastery, founded by Malcolm IV. It is one of the boy king's few tangible achievements.

His great grandparents, Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, left more in the way of memorials – especially at the magnificent Dunfermline Abbey.

Entering Pittencraff Glen by the gate at the front of the abbey, you come

across the remains, to the right of the path, of King Malcolm's Tower. This old tower was built between 1057 and 1070 as a residence for Malcolm Canmore, and crowns a knoll rising 70ft above the stream running through the glen below.

Today all that remains is a fragment of the south and west walls, rising to a height of about eight feet. Malcolm, Margaret and various relics connected with her remained at Dunfermline till the Reformation, when Philip II of Spain had them removed to Madrid.

At the end of the 18th century it was reported that two urns containing the bones of Malcolm and Margaret were kept within the Escorial, a palace in Madrid. It seems that at least some of their remains are still there. It is quite mind-boggling to imagine the remains of a king and queen of Scotland ending up in Spain.

The beautifully-illuminated prayer book of St Margaret was missing for 800 years, and unexpectedly turned up at a book sale in 1887, where it was purchased by the Bodleian Library in Oxford for £6. The book is still in its possession. I feel that this artefact, like many others, should be kept within the Kingdom of Scotland as it is a Scottish item, paid for by the Scottish people.

Many of our important historical assets are scattered among the museums of Europe. Perhaps one day we will see all that is rightfully ours returned. ■

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Cover Lion Rampant: Still Moving Pictures. p4/5/6 Malcolm: Seton Armorial, National Library of Scotland; Coupar Angus: SCAN; Jedburgh Abbey: Scotland in Focus, p7/8/9 Eildon Hills, Aikwood Tower, St Mary's College, King's College, and Glasgow University: Scotland in Focus, p10/11/12/13 Lion Rampant Flag, Seton Armorial: National Library of Scotland; William I: Corbis; St. Thomas à Becket: The Bridgeman Art Library; Effigy of William I, and Royal Seal: Historic Scotland; Arbroath Abbey: Scotland in Focus; Culter Motte: SCAN; p14/15 Glasgow Cathedral as it was in the 16th Century; Malcolm Fife; Seal and Glasgow Cathedral: Historic

Scotland. p16/17 Interior of Glasgow Cathedral: Peter Yeoman and Historic Scotland; St Mungo: Glasgow Museums. p18/19 St Andrew's Cathedral and Dunkeld Cathedral: Malcolm Fife. p20/21/22 William Wallace: SNP; Cambuskenneth Abbey: Scotland in Focus; James III: Seton Armorial, National Library of Scotland. p23 The Lure of the Kelpie, the Water Kelpie and Kelpie Abducting his Human Lover: Mary Evans Picture Library. p24/25 Details from Bayeux Tapestry: The Bridgeman Art Library; Norman Knight and Norman Knights on Horseback: Corbis. p28/29 Charlie Kerr: photograph by Oliver Gordon. p30 Balmerino Abbey: Historic Scotland.

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# SCOTLAND'S STORY

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Somerled, the warrior King of the Isles fought overwhelming odds to develop his native identity and culture.

### GLASGOW'S BATTLING BISHOP

Despite his holy office Bishop Robert Wishart was a thorn in the flesh of Edward I, the 'Hammer of the Scots'.

### BIRTH OF THE CLANS

The origins of Scotland's clan system have been swathed in tartan myths. The truth is much more gripping.

### BATTLE OF LARGS

Alexander III's clash with the Vikings at Largs was a defining moment, but was it a battle, or a series of skirmishes?

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Scotland's no-hopers humbled the might of England, where it really matters, on Wembley's hallowed turf.

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